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DETROIT

as the People See It

A SURVEY OF ATTITUDES
IN AN INDUSTRIAL CITY

Arthur Kornhauser

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DETROIT

AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

FOREWORD

THIS STUDY HAS ONE CENTRAL PURPOSE. It aims to report facts that will be useful to persons interested in making Detroit a better city.

The facts have to do with the feelings and attitudes of Detroit people toward their city. These facts are subjective and for proper interpretation must be viewed in the light of many other facts that are not included in the study. The other facts refer to objective conditions in Detroit—information concerning incomes and standards of living, jobs, education, health, social and political behavior, and many more such matters that show how the people of the city are faring. But knowledge regarding these objective conditions is not enough. Important evidence comes also from people's reports of their personal feelings. It is this latter type of knowledge with which this study is concerned.

The Detroiters who were questioned expressed many favorable and unfavorable comments about the city and its various groups, activities and institutions. We hope that no one will misunderstand our purpose in exploring the negatively critical attitudes along with the favorable. The city needs to know the things people are concerned and dissatisfied about in order to direct efforts at improvement. Knowledge that deals with *negative* feelings can be put to *positive* use. Our findings are published in the faith that they will be used in this constructive manner.

The material of this study touches many sensitive spots. It will not be easy for individuals and organizations that are personally involved (and who is not) to maintain a balanced, unemotional view of the findings. All we can ask is that the reader remind himself at every point that this is evidence to be weighed—not propaganda to be either swallowed or damned. We believe that a thoughtful, balanced inspection will recognize the importance and usefulness of the results while at the same time it will dictate a cautious determination not to exaggerate or overgeneralize the statistical indications.

Moreover, it must be understood that when groups of people are compared, the differences that are pointed out mean only that *more* of one group than the other hold a particular view. Almost always there are many

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exceptions; a great number of persons do not fit the *average* description or the *group tendency*.

Men are taller than women. This is a true statement, speaking in terms of averages. But it is equally true that large numbers of men are shorter than large numbers of women. While this simple point is clear in speaking of people's height, it is most important to keep it in mind also when we compare the *opinions* held by different groups.

Both for myself and for Wayne University it is a pleasure to acknowledge the donation from the Detroit Board of Commerce which made this study possible. The terms of the gift were most generous in the freedom they granted.

A few statements from the Board's letter make this clear:

In making this grant to the University the Board of Commerce has but one objective—a comprehensive survey of the attitudes of Detroiters toward Detroit. The University is to have complete freedom in its conduct of the survey and in the use of the material developed by the survey.

The Detroit Board of Commerce will expect to receive a copy of the survey analysis as promptly as it is completed, together with such other supplemental data or conclusions as the University makes available to all other groups having an interest in the subject.

We want it clearly understood that the Detroit Board of Commerce does not seek any predetermined report or findings. For the report to be of service to the entire community we believe that it should be as factual, impartial and free of bias as possible.

Through the course of the study, the donors have adhered completely to the assurances contained in these sentences.

I wish to express our deep gratitude to Mr. J. W. Parker, Mr. Willis H. Hall, Mr. E. P. Lovejoy and Mr. Frederick Brownell for their constant interest and encouragement—and in addition to Mr. Brownell for his indispensable role in initiating the study. I wish, too, to acknowledge the generosity of Mr. Parker, Mr. Lovejoy and their associates in the Detroit-Edison Company in providing facilities for the machine tabulation of our data.

I am happy to record our appreciation of the friendly assistance given by Dr. Angus Campbell and his staff at the University of Michigan Survey Research Center, by Mr. George Schermer, and by many other good persons in academic, civic, religious and labor organizations whom we consulted during the course of the study.

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To all the staff members, assistants and interviewers who worked with me on the undertaking at Wayne University I likewise offer my personal thanks. Among my faculty colleagues this refers particularly to Dr. Donald Elliott, Dr. Albert Mayer, and Dr. Edgar Schuler. Mrs. Fae Weiss has been most helpful as a research assistant. On the administrative side, Dean Victor Rapport has provided precisely the optimal balance of freedom, facilitation and encouragement.

And finally, a salute to the hundreds of Detroiters who were willing to spend an hour or more telling our interviewers their thoughts and feelings about Detroit. Without their cooperation this report could not have come into being.

A. K.

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CHAPTER 1

The Why and How of the Survey

THE STUDY IS A SELF-APPRAISAL of Detroit. Just as a person can benefit by standing off occasionally and taking a good look at himself, so can a city. This report tells how a cross-section sample of Detroit people feel toward their community and various aspects of life in the community. How does Detroit look to Detroiters?

Aims of the Survey

The purposes of the survey can be very simply enumerated:

1. To discover and make known the attitudes that Detroit people have about the city.
Do they like or dislike Detroit? What aspects of the city's life do they approve and what do they disapprove? Is there a problem of discontent? Apathy? Lack of civic pride? Are there important cleavages or disharmonies of attitudes between major subdivisions of the city's population?
2. To aid in improving the city.
To indicate points at which efforts for civic improvement are most needed. What people have least civic appreciation and why? What other attitudes and feelings would different groups wish to change? What kinds of re-education and "public relations" are called for? What conditions and relationships do Detroiters find unsatisfactory and in need of change—and what types of change are suggested?
3. To measure progress and make comparisons with other cities. Present findings will assume new value insofar as it later becomes possible to compare the results—
 - (a) with parallel results from other cities and
 - (b) with subsequent surveys that will be conducted in Detroit to measure trends and effects of civic efforts.

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4. To add to our knowledge of the psychology of the city dweller in general.

What suggestive conclusions can be drawn that bear on urban problems and human relationships in large industrial communities? While the present small-scale survey cannot hope to arrive at definitive conclusions, results of many such studies may cumulatively contribute usefully to the understanding of present-day city life.

5. To discover promising leads for more intensive research. What ones of the many matters sketchily explored in the present survey suggest themselves as problems of special interest for concentrated research by particular groups and organizations? What challenging questions are turned up but left insufficiently answered in the overall survey?

How the Survey Was Conducted

The survey made use of detailed personal interviews with a cross-section sample of Detroit adults. People were interviewed at their homes by trained interviewers who followed a prescribed systematic plan of questioning. Altogether, 593 men and women were interviewed between May and August, 1951. The average interview lasted about one hour.

We shall mention only the major characteristics of the procedure here; a more complete description is provided in the appendix.

The set of questions for the interview was prepared on the basis of extensive discussions with persons active in Detroit affairs and familiar with various aspects of the city's life and problems. Suggestions were also obtained from related surveys in other places and from investigators who conducted such studies. First drafts of questions were extensively tried out in pre-test interviews with Detroit citizens chosen at random. The questions and interview procedures were then revised and re-revised in a succession of drafts and field try-outs.

The final question-schedule is shown in Appendix A. It combines free-response questions with simple direct ratings of different aspects of the city's life. The respondent is encouraged to tell what is on his mind about the subject-matter of each question, rather than merely to say yes or no to ideas presented to him. The interviewer recorded the answers as nearly as possible in the words of the respondent.

The early questions of the interview are general and relatively non-directive, with the aim of seeing what feelings, positive and negative,

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about Detroit come spontaneously to people's minds. Later questions inquire into more specific attitudes, for example, concerning public schools, traffic, labor relations, race relations, and housing. This questioning procedure proved quite successful on the whole in eliciting responses that picture how Detroit people feel about the city.

Before beginning the questioning, the interviewer introduced himself and briefly explained the purpose of the survey. In order to avoid possible biasing influence, interviewers at no time mentioned Wayne University or the Detroit Board of Commerce. The sponsoring agency was designated by a neutral name, "The Detroit Public Opinion Survey Committee." One other precaution was to have white respondents interviewed only by white interviewers and Negro respondents by Negro interviewers.

If a survey is to yield a satisfactory picture of attitudes, it is necessary not only that responses be properly elicited from each person but also that they be the right persons. Replies must be secured from a truly representative assortment of people. Consequently, we took pains to select the sample of persons to be interviewed according to approved probability sampling procedures developed during recent years. Homes in which interviews would be conducted were located by means of a carefully randomized system of selection—by census tracts, blocks within these tracts, and numbered dwelling units within the blocks. The sample was spread throughout the city and nearby populous suburbs. Within each household, the particular person was likewise chosen in a prescribed manner to insure that men and women, old and young, would have their proper chance of being selected in proportion to their numbers in the total population. The procedures resulted in a sample that corresponds well with known census facts about the population.

Technical details of the sampling procedure, a description of the sample actually chosen and comparisons with census figures to check on the representativeness of the sample are given in Appendix B.

To provide for the proper selection of persons to be interviewed and for the proper conduct of the interview, it was necessary to give each interviewer detailed instructions and a preliminary period of practice. To aid in the training, a written guide was prepared. (This is available for inspection on request.)

Analysis and Report of the Findings

In order to report the survey data, we have had to classify and tabulate the varied ideas expressed in the course of the interviews. While

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this quantification necessarily sacrifices part of the rich qualitative content of the original responses, it does enable us to draw conclusions in regard to the frequency with which views are held and the relations they bear to other parts of our findings. At the same time we shall reproduce many illustrative quotations from the interviews to enliven and give personal meaning to the "dry" figures.

The actual operation has been to classify (or code) the assortment of ideas that occurred in answer to each question. The classifications are not preformed categories into which respondents' answers must fit. Rather, people freely gave their responses in their own words, these were jotted down by the interviewer, and then later we worked out the appropriate classifications to cover the ideas expressed. The classification *grows out of* the response material and constitutes merely a convenient set of descriptive categories.

Each category was then assigned a key number and in that form it could readily be recorded on punched cards for machine tabulation. Utilizing these punched cards, we have secured several hundred tabulations. These constitute the main basis for the report.

The report is a report of facts—facts about people's expressed feelings, beliefs and attitudes. As research investigators, it is not our function to pass judgment on whether people *should* think and feel as they do about their city; we are simply reporting what we found. The attitudes may be adjudged good or bad; they may be justified and based on real conditions or they may be groundless and not in accord with objective facts. Readers will have different opinions on these matters. Regardless of the differences in particular evaluations, however, it must be agreed that what people think and feel about the city is itself a vital body of information.

At many points in this report the interested citizen, official, or civic organization will feel urgent need for further information, both in regard to the sources and meanings of the opinions people express and also in respect to the substantive conditions to which the attitudes refer. In both directions, the obvious answer lies in more studies to give us more facts. The present survey offers observations derived from one brief sightseeing tour of the city's attitudes. It yields an overall view of considerable interest and, we believe, potential usefulness. At the same time it cries hopefully for a whole series of more thorough and penetrating studies to take up where it leaves off.

CHAPTER 2

How Favorable Are the Feelings of Detroit People Toward Detroit?

ON THE WHOLE DETROIT PEOPLE LIKE DETROIT. However, a small but significant number do not like it. And those who are generally favorable are aware of many unfavorable points about the city. Nevertheless, the complaints are more than balanced by the expressions of approval. The net opinion is favorable.

These conclusions are based upon the replies people gave to questions that encouraged free expression of their feelings about Detroit.

Proportions of Favorable and Unfavorable Answers to General Questions About the City

In response to the most general question (Question 3 in the interview: "How do you feel about the city? I'm interested in hearing any things that you think about Detroit.") our 593 respondents offered more than 1400 classifiable ideas. Of these, 54 per cent were favorable; 46 per cent were negative or critical.

Almost identical proportions occur when the interviewer next asked people what things they "like most about living in Detroit" and "the main things you don't like." Of 1806 likes and dislikes, the likes outnumber the dislikes 55 per cent to 45 per cent.

These results probably indicate a more generally favorable attitude toward the city than appears at first glance. The positive ideas preponderate despite the natural tendency for people to notice and report the things that annoy or irritate them—that constitute problems—and to take for granted the things that run smoothly and agreeably. As long as life as a whole goes well, one's attention is not called specifically to the separate elements that comprise the satisfactory environment; let any particular element go awry, however, and we become sharply aware of it and ready to complain. In view of this tendency, it is notable that more than half the points mentioned are on the favorable side.

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The foregoing interpretation is supported by the fact that a large majority of persons whose specific remarks were mainly on the negative side nevertheless declare, when asked directly whether they like living here or not, that they do like it (62 per cent of 132 persons so state.) Their overall feeling is favorable, that is, even though their specific comments are predominantly unfavorable.

But most people make it very clear even in their initial volunteered replies that their attitude is favorable. This is shown by the fact that when total responses to the first general question about feelings toward Detroit are rated (Question 3 in the interview) they give the following distribution, in which 62 per cent are favorable and only 23 per cent are unfavorable.

TABLE 1
Rating of Responses to a General Question
on Feelings Toward Detroit

	<i>Number of persons</i>	<i>Per cent</i>	
Strongly favorable	207	36%	62%
Somewhat favorable	152	26	
Neutral or doubtful	90	15	} 23%
Somewhat unfavorable	64	11	
Strongly unfavorable	68	12	
Total	<hr/> 581	<hr/> 100%	
Not classifiable	12		

Evidence from other questions runs strongly in the same direction. Table 2 summarizes the percentages that support this conclusion. The figures are shown graphically in Chart 1.

TABLE 2
Favorable versus Unfavorable Responses to Several
Questions Showing Feelings Toward Detroit

Question 4 . . . *Would you say you like living in Detroit or not?*

Like	87%
Not like	13
	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons (basis for percentage)	564
No answer or not classifiable	29
Total number of persons interviewed	<hr/> 593

HOW FAVORABLE ARE THE FEELINGS OF DETROIT PEOPLE?

Question 8 . . . *Do you think Detroit is a good city to raise a family in or not?*

a. Proportion of 745 (separate) comments that were:	
Favorable	63%
Unfavorable	37
	<hr/> 100%
b. Classification of respondents by their total answer:	
Yes, Detroit is good	65%
No, Detroit is not good*	35
	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons (basis for percentage)	426
Other answer ("good and bad"; "like any other city"; etc.)	139
No answer or not classifiable	28
Total number of persons interviewed	<hr/> 593

Question 11 . . . *Would you say you are proud of Detroit or not proud?*

Proud	85%
Not proud	15
	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons (basis for percentage)	539
No answer or not classifiable	54
Total number of persons interviewed	<hr/> 593

Question 13 . . . *In general what do you think of Detroit as a place to work?*

Very good; wonderful, etc.	41%	} 88%
Good; above average	47	
Fair or doubtful	11	
Not good	1	
	<hr/> 100%	
Number of persons (basis for percentage)	561	
No answer or not classifiable	32	
Total number of persons interviewed	<hr/> 593	

*Included in the "not good" responses are ones saying "no city is good compared to the country" and similar answers. These replies are not criticisms of *Detroit* but of all cities. If they are subtracted from our totals, the percentages become 73 per cent indicating that Detroit "is a good city to raise a family in" and 27 per cent indicating that it is not.

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Question 14... *If you were offered a job in some other large city . . . how would you feel about leaving Detroit?*

Definitely would not leave; strong unwillingness to leave	65%	} 82%
Probably would not leave; moderate unwillingness to leave	17	
Would not mind leaving; not care	10	
Glad to leave; go willingly	8	
	<hr/> 100%	
Number of persons (basis for percentage)	550	
No answer or not classifiable	43	
Total number of persons interviewed	<hr/> 593	

In answer to these direct questions, it is seen that from 65 per cent to 88 per cent of Detroit people reply in a definitely favorable manner. Eighty-seven per cent declare that they like living in Detroit. Eighty-five per cent are proud of the city. Only 18 per cent would not mind leaving Detroit for some other city. These and other figures shown in the Table and Chart clearly indicate that Detroiters preponderantly approve of their city and accent its positive appeal.

The People Who Are Most Favorable and Those Who Are Least Favorable Toward Detroit

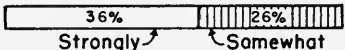
In order to analyze who the favorable and the less favorable people are, it is desirable to go beyond the answers to separate questions and to employ a more general index for each person, based on his answers to a number of the questions. In this way we can construct a simple scale running from those individuals who give uniformly and consistently favorable responses to those who have fewer favorable replies and a larger proportion of negative ones.

For this purpose, six questions were selected—the one reported in Table 1 and the five included in Table 2. By means of an index* based on these questions, respondents have been grouped into four approximately equal divisions as shown in Table 3.

*The index is further described on page 198 in Appendix C.

CHART 1 FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS OF DETROIT

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE CITY ?

Favorable  62%


Strongly ↗ ↖ Somewhat


Neutral or doubtful  15%

Unfavorable  23%

Strongly ↗ ↖ Somewhat

LIKE LIVING IN DETROIT OR NOT ?

Like  87%


Not like  13%


GOOD CITY TO RAISE A FAMILY ?

Good  65%


Not good  35%

PROUD OF DETROIT OR NOT ?

Proud  85%


Not proud  15%

DETROIT AS A PLACE TO WORK ?


Good  88%

Very good; wonderful ↗ ↖ Above average


Fair or doubtful  11%

Not good  1%

HOW FEEL ABOUT LEAVING DETROIT ?

Unwilling to leave  82%

Strongly ↗ ↖ Moderately

Willing to leave  18%

Not mind leaving ↗ ↖ Glad to leave

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TABLE 3
Classification of Respondents by Means of an Index
of Favorableness-Unfavorableness Toward Detroit

	<i>Number of persons Per cent</i>	
<i>Strongly favorable.</i> Not unfavorable on any of the 6 questions and definitely, positively favorable on at least 3 of the 4 questions that permitted degrees of favorableness	143	24%
<i>Favorable.</i> Not unfavorable on any of the 6 questions, but not definitely, positively favorable on more than 2 of the 4 questions that permitted degrees of favorableness	170	29
<i>Not consistently favorable.</i> Definitely unfavorable on 1 of the 6 questions	135	23
<i>Somewhat unfavorable.</i> Definitely unfavorable on 2 or more of the 6 questions	145	24
Total	593	100%

53%

This classification permits us to compare the four groups in order to ascertain what kind of people hold the more favorable and less favorable attitudes. When the comparisons are made, some interesting trends appear. The more important findings are described in the next few pages.

First of all, the fact that *younger* adults are more unfavorable than others is worth underlining. Table 4 shows the relationship.

Table 4
Percentages in Favorable-Unfavorable Categories by Age Groups*

	<i>Under 35</i>	<i>35 to 54</i>	<i>55 and over</i>
Strongly favorable	18%	27%	25%
Favorable	28	27	35
Not consistently favorable	22	23	23
Somewhat unfavorable	32	23	18
	100%	100%	101%
Number of persons	183	271	136

*The comparisons of percentages in this and all the following tables must be

HOW FAVORABLE ARE THE FEELINGS OF DETROIT PEOPLE?

The fourth row of percentages in Table 4 is particularly significant. It indicates that persons under thirty-five years of age are nearly twice as likely to be in the "unfavorable" category as are the people over fifty-five. Our data reveal a steady decline in unfavorable responses with age, even when smaller age groupings are employed (apart from a slight exception in the first two percentages)—

Age group:	21-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
Per cent						
unfavorable:	30%	32%	25%	21%	19%	14%

In Table 4, too, it may be seen that if we combine the two favorable categories, approximately 60 per cent of the older people are consistently positive in their general feelings toward Detroit, contrasted with 54 per cent of the middle aged and 46 per cent of the young group.

An example of what these age differences mean in terms of a concrete question is seen in the figures of Table 5. The question is the one asking how the respondent would feel about leaving Detroit to live in another city (Question 14).

made with a degree of caution because of the sampling errors involved with limited numbers of cases. In general, we shall not call attention to differences unless the odds are at least 9 to 1 against their being mere chance occurrences due to sampling errors. Usually, the probability that the differences are "statistically significant" is much greater, reaching at least the 95 per cent confidence level and frequently the 99 per cent standard.

The following sampling error table provides a rough guide for the reader who wishes to evaluate the percentage differences:

Approximate Size of Percentage Differences Required between Two Percentage Figures in Order That the Difference Be Significant at the 95 per cent Confidence Level

<i>Size of the two percentages to be compared:</i>	<i>Number of individuals on whom the percentage is based</i>			
	50	100	200	400
Approx. 10% to 20% (or 80% to 90%)	14%	10%	7%	5%
Approx. 20% to 30% (or 70% to 80%)	17	12	8	6
Between 30% and 70%	20	13	9	7

The use of this table can be illustrated by an example taken from Table 4. Suppose we wish to compare the first two percentages in the top row, 18 and 27, to see if this is a "significant" difference. Since these percentages are in the neighborhood of the 20% to 30% range, we consult the middle row of entries in the sampling error table; and since each of the percentages is based on roughly 200 cases, we look under the column headed 200. The sampling error thus located, in the second row and the third column, is 8%. Since the difference between the percentages compared exceeds this figure, the probability is greater than 95 per cent that a true difference exists in the direction shown by these percentages.

Sampling errors for differences of percentages that involve other combinations than those represented in the table can be roughly approximated by interpolating between the nearest figures given in the table.

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Table 5
Percentages Giving Different Answers About Leaving
Detroit, by Age Groups

	<i>21 to 35</i>	<i>35 to 54</i>	<i>55 and over</i>
Strong unwillingness to leave	55%	65%	79%
Moderate unwillingness	19	19	10
Not mind leaving or glad to leave	26	16	11
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	167	252	128

These figures indicate that more than one-fourth (26 per cent) of the Detroit people from twenty-one to thirty-five years of age have so little identification with the city or so few ties to family, friends and careers that they would not mind leaving. Almost half of those in this one-fourth would be glad to go. In contrast to the 26 per cent, only 14 per cent of all those past thirty-five feel that they would not mind leaving.

Returning to the general index of favorableness, we observe next that people of upper socio-economic levels and people with greater amounts of schooling express more *unfavorable* feelings toward the city than do others. This appears in the summary figures of Tables 6 and 7.

Table 6
Percentages in Favorable-Unfavorable Categories by
Socio-Economic Groups

	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
Favorable and strongly favorable	44%	55%	53%
Unfavorable and not consistently favorable	56	45	47
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	108	377	108

The socio-economic classification is based on a combination of three sets of facts about each respondent—his occupation (or that of the head of the household), the interviewer's rating of the home and neighborhood, and the average rental of the census tract in which he lives. (Details are given on page 199 in Appendix C.) On the basis of these three variables, the people interviewed were classified into high, middle and low groups—the high and low each comprising 18 per cent of the population (108 of the 593 persons interviewed) and the middle group including the remaining 64 per cent.

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When these three socio-economic groupings are compared on the index of favorableness toward Detroit (Table 6), it is found that the middle and low groups do not differ significantly from each other, but people at the high economic level have a definitely greater proportion who are unfavorable or doubtfully favorable. Table 7 reports related findings for respondents classified by amount of education. No clear difference exists in the index of feelings toward Detroit between people who attended high school only and those who went to college, but these groups are significantly more critical (less favorable) than persons with only eighth grade schooling or less. Moreover those who did not go beyond the eighth grade are found to be definitely more favorable at each of the three economic levels considered separately.

On the question asking about Detroit as a place to work, there is a slight tendency opposite to that of the favorable-unfavorable index as a whole. The *lowest* socio-economic group is a little less favorable than the others on this question (30 per cent of them say "very good" or the equivalent as compared with 43 per cent of the middle and upper socio-economic groups). The low socio-economic group is also a little less favorable than others in its feeling about Detroit as a place to bring up a family—36 per cent of them as against 25 per cent of other Detroiters say Detroit is "not good" for bringing up a family (considering only the answers classifiable as "good" or "not good").

Table 7
Percentages in Favorable-Unfavorable Categories by
Amount of Education

	<i>8th grade or less</i>	<i>9th-12 grades</i>	<i>Above 12th grade</i>
Favorable and strongly favorable	61%	48%	47%
Unfavorable and not consistently favorable	39	52	53
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	200	280	106

When different *occupations* are compared, the most favorable responses are found among business managers and owners, most notably among those in the middle socio-economic bracket rather than at a higher level. The professional and semi-professional people are less favorable—and their wives are still more unfavorable. There is some indication, too,

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that the businessmen's wives are not well satisfied with Detroit. Even though the numbers are small and the percentages correspondingly unstable, the differences are striking enough to be at least suggestive. The comparisons are shown in Table 8.

Table 8
Comparison of Attitudes Toward Detroit Within
Specified Groups

	<i>Number of persons</i>	<i>Percentage "favorable" or "strongly favorable" toward Detroit</i>
Managers, owners	39	62%
Wives of such men	15	40
Professional and semi- professional men	30	47
Wives of such men	17	29

A related fact that supplements this table is this: 43 per cent of the housewives in homes of professional and white collar workers are in the category unfavorable toward Detroit (the last of the four classes on the favorable-unfavorable scale). This 43 per cent stands in contrast to 24 per cent for the entire population and 20 per cent for housewives other than those in the two groups named. While women as a whole show only an extremely slight tendency to be less favorable than men, it thus appears that those in the white collar and professional homes are decidedly more dissatisfied with the city.

The occupational comparisons reveal no tendency for manual workers in general, nor for unskilled and semi-skilled factory workers in particular, to be more unfavorable than other groups—this despite the common assertions regarding the frustrating and hostility-engendering effects of mass-production work. Lower level white collar workers are slightly more favorable than the general average.

Comparison of responses by residents within the city limits and those in the suburbs produces the figures in Table 9. These percentages indicate that the suburbanites are slightly more unfavorable toward Detroit than are the residents of the city itself.

HOW FAVORABLE ARE THE FEELINGS OF DETROIT PEOPLE?

Table 9
Percentages Favorable and Unfavorable in Detroit
and Its Suburbs

	<i>Detroit</i>	<i>Suburbs</i>
Strongly favorable	25%	20%
Favorable	29	28
Not consistently favorable	23	21
Somewhat unfavorable	23	31
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	495	98

A further analysis of one question, that dealing with whether the respondent is "proud of Detroit or not" (Question 11), suggests that the difference is accounted for especially by the upper socio-economic group in the suburbs. Twenty-six per cent (six of twenty-three) in this top group of suburbanites say definitely that they are not proud of Detroit, while only 6 per cent of other suburban respondents and 15 per cent of all Detroiters answer in this way.

When Negro and white respondents are compared, we find a slightly larger proportion of Negroes at the unfavorable end of the scale—32 per cent of them are in the most unfavorable group compared to 24 per cent of white people. However, the Negroes in our sample were all at the middle and lower socio-economic levels and a comparison of their attitudes with the white sample at these levels shows a slightly greater difference—32 per cent versus 22 per cent unfavorable.

Our interviews secured reports from people as to their membership in clubs and social organizations, church groups and voluntary associations of any kind (Question 10). It seemed reasonable to suppose that persons who are integrated into such social groupings, who "belong," would be more satisfied and favorable toward life in Detroit than those who report no such participation or less of it. Consequently, it is worth reporting that no relationship of this kind is found in our results. Neither membership in religious nor non-religious organizations—whether in none, one, or several—shows significant relations to attitudes toward Detroit.

A final set of analyses deals with the length of time people have lived in Detroit and where they came from. *In general, those who have come to Detroit in recent years are least favorably inclined toward the city; the longer ago they came the more favorable they are on the average.* The figures in Table 10 depict this trend.

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Table 10
Percentages Favorable and Unfavorable by
Years in Detroit

	<i>Before</i> <i>1920</i>	<i>Came to Detroit</i>				<i>Whole</i> <i>life in</i> <i>Detroit</i>
		<i>1920-</i> <i>1929</i>	<i>1930-</i> <i>1939</i>	<i>1940-</i> <i>1945</i>	<i>Since</i> <i>1945</i>	
Strongly favorable	31%	26%	22%	21%	18%	23%
Favorable	34	31	26	22	26	28
Not consistently favorable	17	22	28	24	20	25
Somewhat unfavorable	18	21	24	33	36	24
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of persons	118	113	72	58	66	163

A steady decrease in percentages of favorable attitudes occurs as one reads across the top row of figures; an equally steady increase in *unfavorable* attitudes is seen in the bottom row. These statements exclude the last column, of course; it is added to the table to show how native Detroiters compare with the others. Among Detroiters who have arrived here since the War (column headed "Since 1945"), twice as many are unfavorable as are strongly favorable. Almost the reverse is true of "old-timers" who were here before 1920 (first column). If we subdivide the people who have come since the War, the most recent (since 1948) show an even smaller percentage strongly favorable—only two persons out of thirty-four, or 6 per cent.

In answer to the direct question whether "you like living in Detroit or not," 23 per cent of those who came since 1945 say they definitely do not like it. Fifteen per cent of those who came between 1930 and 1945 and only 7 per cent of those from before 1930 respond in this way.

Native-born Detroiters fall between the extremes of early and late comers. They are not as unfavorable as the recent arrivals but neither are they as favorable as people who came in the '20s and before. This is due in part to age differences; the Detroit-born tend to be younger and better educated—and it has already been noted that these groups are less favorable than the older and less well educated. Taken as a whole, the people born in Detroit show almost exactly the same proportions of favorable and unfavorable attitudes as do Detroiters who were not born here.

Differences in attitudes are also associated with the places people lived before they came to Detroit. This apparent in Tables 11 and 12.

HOW FAVORABLE ARE THE FEELINGS OF DETROIT PEOPLE?

Table 11
Percentages Favorable and Unfavorable by
Size of Community Previously Lived In

	<i>Residence before coming to Detroit</i>		
	<i>Farm or small town</i>	<i>Medium sized city</i>	<i>Large city</i>
Strongly favorable	26%	25%	24%
Favorable	33	19	27
Not consistently favorable	20	24	24
Somewhat unfavorable	21	32	25
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	229	116	63

The most favorable feelings are held by people who came from farms and small towns, the least favorable by those from medium-sized cities.

Further analyses that go beyond the above table reveal especially unfavorable attitudes among those who came to Detroit from large and middle-sized cities during the '40s. Forty-two per cent of them are unfavorable in contrast to 24 per cent of all the people interviewed; and only 35 per cent are in the two favorable categories as against 53 per cent for the total sample. Outstandingly favorable, on the other hand, are the people who came from big cities and from farms before 1930. Only 18 per cent of them are unfavorable and 69 per cent are in the two favorable categories.

Table 12
Percentages Favorable and Unfavorable by Location
of Community Previously Lived In

	<i>Residence before coming to Detroit</i>		
	<i>Michigan</i>	<i>Elsewhere in U.S.</i>	<i>Foreign</i>
Strongly favorable	15%	25%	28%
Favorable	27	24	41
Not consistently favorable	31	21	20
Somewhat unfavorable	27	30	11
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	67	244	82

Most notable in Table 12 is the high percentage of favorable attitude among those who come from outside the United States and the low degree of favorableness among Detroiters from the state of Michigan. No large

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

differences appear when the several regions within the United States are compared; hence all are combined in the second column of the table.

From all the foregoing analyses in this part of the report it is possible now to sketch a crude composite picture, or series of pictures, of persons who are especially favorable toward Detroit and a contrasting set of pictures of those with unfavorable feelings toward the city. Perhaps the latter is the more useful form of summary, for it is these persons, and future ones like them, who especially need to be won over to positive feelings about Detroit. This objective may be worked for, of course, either through changing the city to make it more fully what these people want and expect or through changing their own outlook, expectations and appreciation of the city, or through both these means.

Briefly, then, what does the evidence of the present survey indicate as to which people think especially well of Detroit and which people are less favorable?

Especially favorable are these:

- Business managers and owners, proprietors
- People who came to Detroit before 1930 but not those born here
- People who came from farms and small towns at any time
- Foreigners—including Canadians
- People who have only eighth grade schooling or less

The people less favorably inclined toward Detroit and more critical of it are found more frequently within the following groups:

- Younger adults—twenty-one to thirty-four years of age
- Persons who went beyond eighth grade of school
- Higher socio-economic groups, especially the wives and dependents of persons in professional and white collar occupations; also the upper economic groups residing in the suburbs
- People who came to Detroit during the '40's (except those from farms and small towns), the more recent the more unfavorable; also those from large cities during the '30s
- Negroes
- People who came to Detroit from other places in Michigan

The foregoing detailed comparisons must not be allowed to hide the main picture. While significant variations do occur in attitudes toward Detroit, the population as a whole expresses predominantly favorable and positive feelings.

What Detroit People Like and Dislike
About the City

THE PRECEDING PAGES report the *direction* of Detroiters' feelings about the city; this section describes the *content* of their favorable and unfavorable feelings. What are the things that are on people's minds sufficiently to come to the surface when they are asked more or less general questions about Detroit and are encouraged to answer with utmost freedom? We shall first report responses to the quite general questions about the city as a whole and then consider somewhat more specific questions.

Responses to General Questions
on Feelings Toward Detroit

The first part of the interview contained broad questions asking what people think of Detroit and what things they like and dislike (Questions 3 and 5-6). Responses to these dragnet questions have been classified into some fourteen main categories. The nature of these categories and their subdivisions is indicated in Table 13. The table also offers verbatim examples of responses obtained in the interviews.

The categories are arranged in the table from the most favorable to the least favorable, according to the number of positive and negative comments people expressed in respect to each matter.

Table 13
A Classification of Volunteered
Comments about Detroit

1. Detroit as a place to work; economic opportunities:

(21% of all favorable comments; 1% of unfavorable)

Favorable	Unfavorable
Believe advantages are greater here for everyone—and especially for the youth to get started in life's work or to make a living.	Too much depends upon if the factories are running or not. Hard to get a good steady job and make some progress. Every year you go out on strike for at least two weeks.

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Favorable

Detroit affords a means of making a good living. It is really a working city.

You certainly can't complain about working conditions here.

There isn't a better place than Detroit for work and money.

Employment here makes Detroit great more than anything else.

There's plenty of work for everyone. You can't always do that in a small town. I have a feeling of security here because of the working.

Good for working people because they can always make a living. Lots of work, lots of jobs. Working man has better chance to work here than any other place.

Unfavorable

Economic life is not too stable compared with other cities. Working conditions are either very good or very bad.

Seems harder for women to get a job than men.

2. Personal considerations; home, friends, feelings about city life:

(14% of all favorable comments; 4% of unfavorable)

Favorable

Purely personal — most important thing to me is that my whole family is here.

Oh, I love it, I just love Detroit. There's no place I like better. I've been away but I've always come back. I've been here all my life and really love it.

Had enough of farm life.

We like it O. K. or we wouldn't be here.

I like it because I like big cities. I like the feel of a big city.

Unfavorable

I prefer to live on a farm or in a small town. Life is quieter and healthier on a farm.

I am lonesome because my whole family is in New York. I do not have many friends here.

Well, I don't know; but I feel Detroit has lost its homey feeling — it is almost like a foreign city to me.

3. Recreation and sports:

Belle Isle; Other parks, playgrounds, beaches, etc.; Spectator sports; Restaurants, bars, dancing; Other (resorts, hunting, fishing, Greenfield Village, recreation in general)

(13% of all favorable comments; 4% of unfavorable)

WHAT DETROIT PEOPLE LIKE AND DISLIKE ABOUT THE CITY

Favorable

Well, there's so much to do here.
... such good recreation facilities.

I like the sports mostly—like baseball, hockey, wrestling; we watch them on TV.

I enjoy the parks, Belle Isle and Palmer Park. Greenfield Village is very interesting and out of the ordinary in all the historical displays they have there. The Zoo is wonderful.

Detroit is a nice place to live in and work in. There's lots of parks and recreation and playgrounds for children. There's good shows here, sports of all kinds, including prize fights, baseball games. Good beaches for swimming.

I like the closeness of their resorts—you go out and travel for an hour and there's such beautiful fishing and the lakes.

Lots of night life; places to go.

Unfavorable

With a town with as much water around it, it still hasn't a decent place to swim.

I think we should have better night clubs, especially night club shows; what we have is expensive and not worth the money.

It's a hick town; strictly industry, no entertainment.

There are not enough places for small children to play and the traffic is so bad on the streets that I'm afraid to even let my children off the porch.

4. Schools, educational opportunities:

(6% of all favorable comments; 1% of unfavorable)

Favorable

The facilities for higher learning are offered if one reaches out for them. It is easy to acquire an education if a person is ambitious.

The children had all possible opportunities—especially in schooling facilities.

The school where my boy goes is very nice. The teachers seem to take more interest than they did years ago.

Unfavorable

The high schools could be improved—there's too much emphasis on social life instead of on what they're there for and that is to learn.

Too much discrimination between public schools and parochial schools; should give some tax money to parochial schools.

The school system is overcrowded. Not enough teachers for children.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Favorable

My daughter is a Braille student and can go to a public school here.

Wayne University—in a few more years it will be very worthwhile. It's a good school and it's good to have it located in the middle of the city. I don't happen to be Catholic but University of Detroit and Marygrove are good schools.

I feel that we have some of the best schools in the country.

5. Economic considerations other than Detroit as a place to work:

Stores, shopping centers; Unions, strikes, etc.; Other (cost of living, production accomplishments, etc.)

(8% of all favorable comments; 4% of unfavorable)

Favorable

Very fine stores for shopping—always great amounts to choose from.

City is prosperous — people eat better here because they have money to buy things with.

I like the free enterprise system here. I would say that's the hub of the town, making the city like no other city in the country and you can't change that.

It's progressive — there are so many industries here that are beneficial to a great many people.

Good union town.

Unfavorable

It's a mess — labor strikes, bus strikes.

Not very stable from a financial standpoint. City is too dependent on the automobile industry.

Food costs, living costs, etc. are the highest priced of any large city.

6. Cultural aspects other than schools:

Churches, religious organizations; Theatres; Other (music, art, libraries, culture in general)

(6% of all favorable comments; 2% of unfavorable)

WHAT DETROIT PEOPLE LIKE AND DISLIKE ABOUT THE CITY

Favorable

From an educational standpoint, we have very fine schools, art museums, libraries, and music hall.

Detroit has cultural advantages that no other cities have.

I enjoy the concerts that we have at the State Fair, something that most towns don't have.

Cultural advantages; Art Institute, lectures, plays, music performances.

The churches are very fine, too.

Unfavorable

Lack of higher forms of music and entertainment.

Not very cultured . . . can not support symphony orchestra.

The city is culturally dead.

7. Spirit of city:

Friendly or not, generosity, etc.; Other (dynamic, progressive, fast, slow, too industrial, civic pride or lack, etc.)

(7% of all favorable comments; 7% of unfavorable)

Favorable

It's a very dynamic city, that's one thing that's interesting about it. It's progressive.

It's democratic. All kinds of nationalities and industries perfectly free.

I like it better than any other city; it has a warm heart.

I am getting to like it better. It is big and busy and swift, but friendly and pleasant.

Like the spirit the people have for defending their rights. Demand their rights here in Detroit. They are not afraid or ashamed.

The social organizations and churches are very good for helping people. Detroit people are friendly.

Unfavorable

Get pushed around from daylight till dark. . . . Not too friendly a city. Treat you as a piece of machinery.

Cold, heartless feeling between fellow citizens; complete disregard for the other fellow, from traffic problems to social intercourse. *All* citizens seem to treat *all* others with cold disrespect—animal like.

Don't like the majority of people, the atmosphere of the city. People go around thinking about beer, baseball, the *S a t u r d a y* night dance and a new TV set.

It's primarily an industrial town; transients come into city — and go out without contributing anything.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Unfavorable

Nobody really gives a damn — maybe just a few. The only thing this town has are a lot of factories which haven't done anything for the city — besides the jobs they provide.

Woefully behind in public spirit; that is, groups are for their own ideas but not for overall improvement; no civic consciousness as in other cities.

8. City services other than municipal transportation system (DSR), traffic, etc.:

Garbage and sanitation; Police Department; Other (hospitals, Fire Department, welfare, etc.)

(3% of all favorable comments; 5% of unfavorable)

Favorable

You have the freedom to enter any hospital you want. Patients seem to get equal treatment.

Good service on things like garbage collection.

I like the way the law is enforced; we have a nice bunch of policemen.

If you need help you get it from the Welfare Department; will also help you find work and clinic gives you hospital care; specialists take care of me at clinic for reasonable rates.

Have good police and fire protection.

Unfavorable

They don't keep the alleys clean and that causes so many rats and pests.

City does not take care of old people—I don't get enough money to live on.

They should clean up the dope traffic around town.

They are supposed to spray and trim trees on the street but they never do it.

City doesn't clean sewers often enough. They back up and flood alleys and streets. It's horrible.

Garbage collection, street cleaning are just terrible compared to other cities. It's a shame, it's a crime. They ought to get these things straightened out at City Hall. You go down any one of these alleys and it's pitiful to see conditions like that existing. It's all dirt; the garbage laying around for three or four days at a time.

WHAT DETROIT PEOPLE LIKE AND DISLIKE ABOUT THE CITY

Unfavorable

The Police Department doesn't give a person the privilege for explanation and they don't treat people as man to man.

9. Housing:

General shortage, home owning vs renting; Rents and prices, rent control; Slums, skid row; Other (government projects, real estate business, zoning, etc.)

(1% of all favorable comments; 6% of unfavorable)

Favorable

I like my child being here to grow up; no tenements like New York. We got slums but nothing like those.

Like the idea of privately owned homes rather than apartments.

Chiefly, because it's just home-owned. The majority of the people seem to own their own homes rather than [live] in tenements like other cities. The kids can play in the backyards rather than on the streets as in other cities.

Unfavorable

I don't like the temporary houses that have proved to be permanent.

Can't find any decent place to stay when you have kids. We looked from place to place before we found a place that would accept our baby.

Don't like the slums; should give everybody a chance at decent living but don't like public housing projects because they concentrate people by force in one place, that is, they concentrate people of one class in one particular spot.

I think some of the buildings here in Detroit are not fit to live in and there are people living in them.

There is not enough houses for the people that don't make much money.

10. City government and taxes:

City government and officials; Local taxes

(1% of all favorable comments; 7% of unfavorable)

Favorable

It is nice, good clean city; not too much corruption; not much crooked stuff; government is good and honest.

Unfavorable

City employees too interested in their jobs and selves instead of having a feeling of loyalty to the city in general.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Favorable

The laws are good.

I don't think there is the dirt and corruption in the city government in Detroit that there is in other cities.

Unfavorable

City has been managed badly.
Politics has ruined the city.

I don't believe that the public is getting their full equity out of taxes.

The mayor isn't treating the people good here. He's praised by people here, but those people are the people who drive Cadillacs.

I don't like the way they raise taxes every year.

I feel the city government is rotten. The way the city is run—too many racketeers.

11. Physical characteristics:

Climate; Size and growth, congestion, etc.; Beauty-ugliness (riverfront, river, civic center); Clean-dirty (streets and alleys, smoke, etc.); Other (location, noise, flat, type of buildings, residential areas, etc.)

(16% of all favorable comments; 22% of unfavorable)

Favorable

The beautiful waterfront is going to be nice—then too, I can take such nice boat trips from Detroit.

It is beautiful for a large city—there are a great many nice parks. There are a lot of trees that enhance the beauty.

I like Detroit because there are not so many big buildings, not so busy or dirty. It is a clean city.

I think it's just wonderful; it has grown so. There are so many large streets and buildings and factories.

Situated in a favorable climate.

The town is compact, making it easy to get around.

Unfavorable

To me it seems like an overgrown town. It spread out too quickly with not enough planning. Certainly it isn't a pretty city—slums galore, dirty streets, an ugly waterfront.

I think the city is too crowded and dirty to raise a family in.

The weather is always bad.

Well, it's too large for one thing. It's too hard to get around.

Nothing much has ever been done about the riverfront.

I think it's dirty, smoky, dusty, overrun with rats.

It is too noisy. Too much traffic noise.

It's a very dirty city, it's so much inland. I wouldn't classify it as a place surrounded by beautiful beaches or beautiful scenery.

WHAT DETROIT PEOPLE LIKE AND DISLIKE ABOUT THE CITY

12. Traffic, parking, streets:

Traffic, parking; Street needs, expressways

(2% of all favorable comments; 10% of unfavorable)

Favorable

Of course they're catching up (in city planning) with the new highways and expressways.

Traffic is less congested here. Streets are wider.

It's fairly easy to get around; even with children it's fairly easy to get around.

Unfavorable

Their parking facilities are bad and many times I'm late for appointments running around trying to find a place to park.

Very poor system of paving streets—too much cheap material is used.

There are just not ample parking spaces for the business centers.

Transportation, both public and private is terrible. Wait for buses, and very congested if you drive your own car.

Traffic rules and regulations are outdated too, should be modernized.

Streets are congested. Only one main street downtown from here—Grand River. Streets are in poor condition.

13. City transportation system (Department of Street Railways - DSR):

(2% of all favorable comments; 13% unfavorable)

Favorable

The main thing is that all transportation is close. You don't have to walk very far to get public transportation.

Good transportation to any place you want to go.

Transportation is ready and available.

Unfavorable

It has the worst streetcar system in the U. S.

The general DSR service is not good. It's slow and its drivers are not courteous to the citizens.

Traffic is a mess—and the DSR stinks.

I always have to stand in buses and the fare is too high. They're too crowded.

Don't care for transportation. Could show profit if privately owned. Would like a subway.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Unfavorable

Our bus service is bad even without the strike. [Gratiot Express] buses only run a few hours at morning and night. We pay enough taxes to have better service.

14. Intergroup relations; kinds of people here:

Negroes in neighborhoods; Other Negro-white relations; Other kinds of people

(1% of all favorable comments; 14% of unfavorable)

Favorable

The colored man gets a better break up here than down South.

I like this neighborhood, all the Polish people here.

There isn't too much ethnic conflict. The same is true of racial conflict. The Negro has a higher status here than in other cities.

I like its melting pot aspect.

Unfavorable

A lot of unfairness is here in Detroit. Eating places are not open to Negroes.

I don't like the niggers here in Detroit, because they have too many rights.

I don't like the city's hands off attitude to racial problems.

People discriminate against foreign born people.

Foreign element not adjusting quickly enough. Too much Polish tradition handed down in the school system.

The hatred that exists between races. I hate this racial discrimination. It is not like in 1900. We could all live here nicely if we could learn to respect each other.

I don't like all the mixing with the colored people. They're moving into this neighborhood, and there is nothing you can do about it. At first I didn't care if my children played with them, but my mother-in-law explained it all to me and I can see she is right.

WHAT DETROIT PEOPLE LIKE AND DISLIKE ABOUT THE CITY

Unfavorable

A certain type of people migrated to the city that are anything but clean; their homes are not kept up, they have liquor on the front porch and they sit there and drink and are improperly dressed.

Chart 2 and Table 14 summarize the quantitative findings on the frequency with which different characteristics of the city were mentioned favorably and unfavorably. Here as in Table 13 the major categories are arranged in order of favorableness according to Detroit people's total responses. First on the list comes the topic having the largest preponderance of favorable comments and likes over unfavorable comments and dislikes; other topics follow in order according to the diminishing excess of positive over negative responses—and farther down the list by the increasing excess of negative over positive comments.

Under each of the fourteen categories, the percentage of comments is recorded for each sub-topic that was mentioned by at least ten respondents. In interpreting the standing of a category, the reader should note that certain sub-topics receive much more favorable comments (or much less favorable) than does the category as a whole.

One further explanatory remark is in order. The percentage figures as a whole are likely to seem quite low unless it is kept in mind that these are spontaneous comments that could refer to anything and everything that came to the respondent's mind. There is no doubt that questions directed specifically at one or another topic would produce much higher percentages of opinion for and against the given matter. But the opening stages of the interview were deliberately planned to avoid this; we were interested in what people would volunteer with a minimum of guidance. Consequently, the absolute size of the percentages in the table is much less important than the *order of frequency* with which topics are mentioned, favorably and unfavorably.

Only a few of the many figures of interest in the table will be singled out for special attention.

One outstanding point is the preeminent position assigned to "Detroit as a place to work," Detroit as a place to make a living. Not only does this category contain the greatest number of *favorable* responses; it also

Table 14

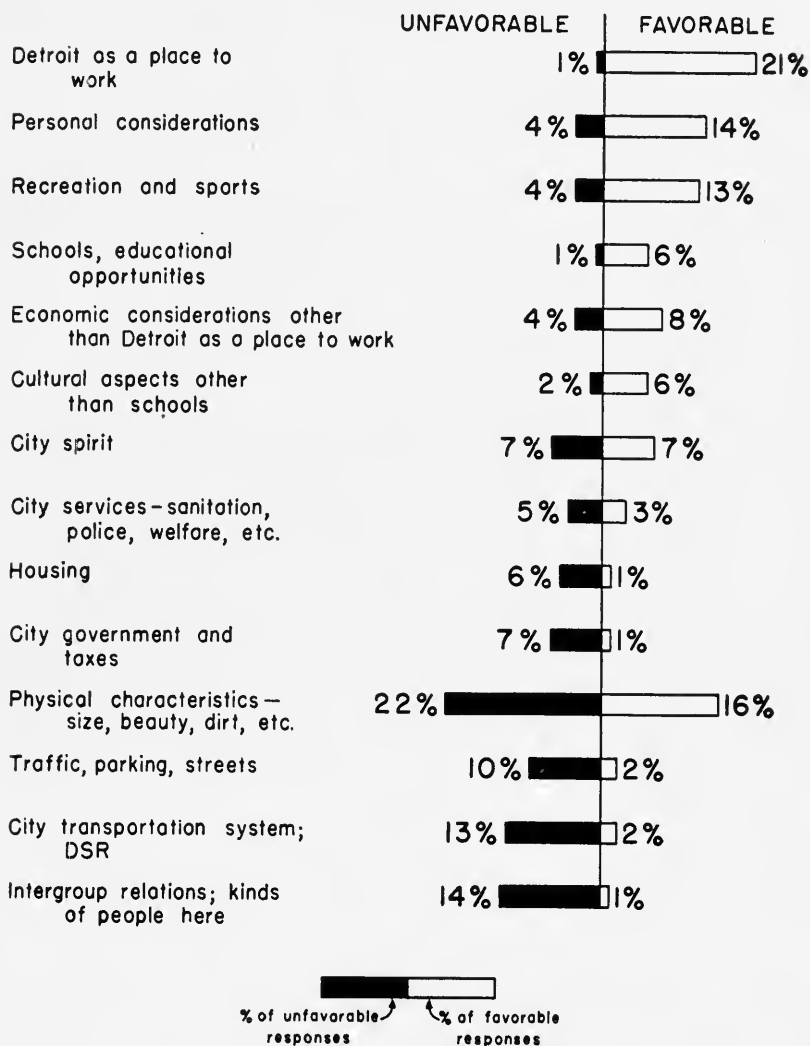
Frequency of Comments by Subject Matter and by Favorable or Unfavorable Direction

	Q. 3: Things you think about Detroit (Percentages of 765 favorable comments)	Unfavorable (Percentages of 640 unfavorable comments)	Q. 5-6: Things you like and dislike about Detroit Like (Percentages of 1001 likes)	Dislike (Percentages of 805 dislikes)
1. Detroit as a place to work; economic opportunities	21.0%	.5%	20.3%	1.0%
2. Personal considerations: home, friends feelings about city life	16.5	4.7	11.9	2.7
3. Recreation and sports:	11.2	4.8	15.1	3.9
Belle Isle	1.8%			
Other parks, playgrounds, beaches, etc.	3.9	0.0%	2.1%	0.0%
Spectator sports	1.2	3.0	5.5	1.5
Restaurants, bars, dancing	.1	0.0	1.4	0.0
Other (resorts, hunting, fishing, Greenfield Village, recreation in general)	4.2	.5	.5	1.8
4. Schools, educational opportunities		1.3	5.6	.6
5. Economic considerations other than Detroit as a place to work	6.1	.9	5.2	1.2
Stores, shopping centers	7.7		8.2	3.7
Unions, strikes, etc.	5.3		7.5	.1
Other (cost of living, production accomplishments, etc.)	.4	2.5	0.0	2.1
6. Cultural aspects other than schools		1.4	.7	1.5
Churches, religious organizations	4.6			
Theatres		2.7	7.3	2.1
Other (music, art, libraries, culture in general)	1.2	.2	2.6	0.0
7. Spirit of city	1.6	.8	2.1	1.2
Friendly or not, generosity, etc.	1.8	1.7	2.6	.9
Other (dynamic, progressive, fast, slow, too industrial, civic pride or lack, etc.)	9.0	9.5	5.7	4.3
8. City services other than municipal transportation system (DSR), traffic, etc.				
Garbage and sanitation	1.7	4.7	3.8	5.1
	.1	2.8	.7	2.7

	Q. 3: Things you think about Detroit (cont.)	Q. 5-6: Things you like and dislike about Detroit (cont.)	
	Favorable (Percentages of 765 favorable comments)	Like (Percentages of 1001 likes)	Dislike (Percentages of 805 dislikes)
Police Department	.7	1.3	1.0
Other (hospitals, Fire Department, welfare, etc.)	.9	1.8	1.4
9. Housing	1.0	1.0	8.4
General shortage, home owning vs. renting	.9	.9	3.0
Rents and prices, rent control	0.0	0.0	1.5
Slums, skid row	.1	0.0	3.3
Other (government projects, real estate business, zoning, etc.)	0.0	.1	.6
10. City government and taxes	1.6	1.0	6.3
City government and officials	1.6	1.0	2.1
Local taxes	0.0	0.0	4.2
11. Physical characteristics	15.0	16.0	23.0
Climate	1.1	1.6	4.1
Size and growth, congestion, etc.	1.4	1.2	7.5
Beauty, ugliness riverfront, river, civic center	1.4	.7	.2
Clean-dirty (streets and alleys, smoke, etc.)	3.8	2.3	.6
Other (location, noise, flat, type of buildings, residential areas, etc.)	.5	0.0	3.4
	1.7	1.6	5.1
	5.1	8.6	2.1
12. Traffic, parking, streets	2.2	.9	11.3
Traffic, parking	.4	.3	7.5
Street needs, expressways	1.8	.6	3.8
13. City transportation system: DSR (Depart- ment of Street Railways)	1.3	2.5	12.7
14. Intergroup relations, kinds of people here	.9	1.2	14.2
Negroes in neighborhoods	0.0	.1	3.9
Other Negro-white relations	.4	.6	7.4
Other kinds of people	.5	.5	2.9

CHART 2

FAVORABLENESS AND UNFAVORABLENESS OF SPONTANEOUS COMMENTS ABOUT DETROIT



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has the smallest number of unfavorable responses. Men and women, whites and Negroes, people at all occupational levels, agree in placing strong positive emphasis on Detroit as a good city for the workingman.

If we count all the persons who at any point in the first general part of the interview mention the subject of work opportunities, job conditions, etc. in Detroit, the percentage is far in excess of the figures for Questions 3 and 5-6 alone, as these are given in Table 14. The total number who comment on work in reply to any one of six early questions turns out to be 58 per cent of all respondents. Considering only employed persons, 68 per cent make some mention of work. These proportions suggest the salient position that jobs occupy in Detroiters' thinking. Most significant, moreover, is the fact that 95 per cent of those who mention work comment on it only in the positive or favorable direction.

Detroit as a place to make a living is one thing; Detroit as a place to live is another. It is consequently important to note that favorable comments also predominate in respect to significant features of Detroit life apart from work. This is especially true of recreation and sports, schools, other cultural opportunities, stores and shopping centers.

People find certain other aspects of Detroit less satisfactory. Worst of all, as seen in Table 14, are feelings about human relations and the kinds of people in the city. The great majority of comments here refer to Negro-white relations. The comments are largely complaints about the number of Negroes, their moving into white neighborhoods, their having too many rights, intermingling with whites and similar expressions of anti-Negro feelings.

Criticisms in the opposite direction are also expressed by many Negroes and a small minority of white people—comments that emphasize the evils of segregation and discrimination. Only a few respondents offered favorable views on the race situation here—principally Negroes who referred to Detroit as preferable to the South.

Examples of comments by Negroes, in both the directions noted, are the following:

I don't like the segregation. I didn't think I'd find much of that here when I came here to live. Negro and whites don't get along much better here than they do at my home [Alabama].

Well, Detroit seems to me like it is nice except fair employment isn't here. That I know for sure. Every person should be equal to the job they are able to qualify for. If I have the experience to qualify for a job, and a white fella have the same or less ex-

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perience, the white fella will get this job. That's why so many Negroes don't finish high school and go to college.

There isn't much difference between here and the South as far as discrimination is concerned. Prejudice exists on the various jobs around here. Because of job discrimination, a Negro can't get to work on some of the good jobs in a factory. Negroes can cook for whites but whites don't want to sit down and eat with Negroes.

Like Detroit except for some discrimination in getting jobs. Police Department very brutal toward colored people.

You have more freedom than in Mississippi.... I guess you have more rights to do the things you want to. Have the same equal rights as other persons, like going to shows, working together, all make the same equal money.

Colored people really have made much progress in the last ten to fifteen years here. Nice homes, late model cars, and children to college, raising race's standards.

[In Detroit] I don't have to Uncle Tom to the white folks. I don't have to say, "Yes, sir" and "No, sir" to no white folks.

Finally, we quote the response of a Detroit policeman (white) who gives a most interesting though not at all typical answer:

Plenty to do in colored section in improving living conditions for those people. This feeling of hatred between the white and colored is getting better. But not good enough. They're getting together better. That's good. I went through the '42 riot and I know all about this subject. Don't like the racial tensions here. I don't know whether all the policemen feel the way I do, but I wish we could give the Negroes more opportunities and better homes, and I think that [tension] would stop.

Also far down in the unfavorable direction among the topics commented on are the DSR and conditions of traffic and parking. A little better off, but still definitely on the negative side for most people who mention them, are housing, the city government and local taxes, and varied physical characteristics of the city.

The last named category covers a number of diverse matters, some liked and some disliked. The physical aspects of the city that are most condemned include its climate; its size, congestion and too rapid growth; its smoke and fumes; the dirty condition of its streets and alleys. But

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other physical characteristics are predominantly admired—especially its location by river and lakes; the beauty of its homes, trees, river front; the quiet, comfort and convenience of residential districts.

Another word should be said in regard to the negative feelings about the public transportation system of Detroit, the DSR. During the first half of the field work for this survey, the DSR strike was in progress and this fact no doubt influenced many answers. Although the respondent might not mention the strike specifically, the interruption of service had at least brought DSR and its problems freshly to mind. Not unusual were such sentiments as: "the transportation system is terrible" and "the DSR stinks."

In summary, Table 14 affords a ready view of the things Detroiters think about their city, positively and negatively. It calls attention to the city's strengths and weaknesses from the standpoint of community satisfactions and morale. It suggests a number of the spots where people feel attention is needed and at the same time indicates favorably regarded aspects of the city toward which increased appreciation may be developed.

A few significant differences between men and women and between white and Negro people in respect to the emphasis placed on different points in Table 14 should also be noted.

On the favorable side, men speak much more frequently than women of Detroit as a place to work. Women have many more comments than men in reference to schools, churches and other cultural aspects of the city, to stores and shopping conveniences and to personal considerations, such as the presence here of their families and friends. Among the unfavorable comments, men give greater attention than women to problems of city government and taxes and to complaints about traffic and parking. Women have somewhat more to say than men against the city's size; its crowded and dirty conditions and its deficiencies in respect to cultural advantages, such as theatres and music.

The comparison of white and Negro respondents shows the following principal differences in points emphasized: favorable comments are relatively more common by white respondents in respect to recreation and sports; beauty, location and other physical aspects of the city; economic considerations other than Detroit as a place to work; cultural advantages (other than schools). Negroes give a substantially greater proportion of favorable responses in regard to Detroit as a place to work and slightly larger proportions to personal considerations and intergroup relations and kinds of people.

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On the negative side, white respondents have more comments that pertain to the city's unsatisfactory physical characteristics, traffic and parking problems, city government and taxes, and personal considerations. Negroes place greater emphasis on defects in Detroit's city spirit, in its opportunities (and fairness) in regard to work, its housing and the state of intergroup relations (especially race relations). It is to be noted that Negroes, as compared with whites, have greater proportions of responses pertaining to race relations *both* favorably and unfavorably. These relations occupy a more prominent place in their thinking about the city.

Responses to Specific Questions That Reveal Attitudes Toward Detroit

Several other questions in the survey provide parallel and confirmatory response material along lines similar to that of the preceding section. At the same time these questions elicit additional data that usefully supplement the foregoing. The questions remain fairly general, though they are somewhat more specific than those dealt with in the preceding pages.

Detroit as a City in Which to Bring Up a Family

One of the questions (Question 8) asked whether or not Detroit is a good city in which to raise a family—and in what ways it is good or bad. The responses were predominantly favorable, as reported in Table 2. The reasons given for the replies—favorable and unfavorable—are indicated by the summary in Table 15.

The categories in this table are again arranged according to the number of favorable responses as against unfavorable. Outstanding is the large percentage of responses that speak favorably of the Detroit schools. This point far surpasses any other as a reason for thinking Detroit a good place to bring up children. Although some people voice such complaints as "lack of enough room in schools for young children to attend school all day," the "prejudice [which exists] though people are led to believe it doesn't," "not enough teachers so that they can take interest in kids who are backward or slow in learning," and "force you to send the children to school where they learn more sinful things," a preponderance of the statements say rather that "the schools are good," "educational facilities excellent," "a very high standard of teachers," etc.

Second in the list are reasons having to do with Detroit as a place to work and make a good living. The city is thought of as good in this respect not only because the family is likely to have economic security but also because of work opportunities for the children as they grow up.

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Table 15
Frequency of Reasons for Believing Detroit Is or Is
Not a Good Place to Raise a Family

	<i>Percentage of 468 comments on why Detroit is good*</i>	<i>Percentage of 277 comments on why Detroit is not good*</i>
Detroit schools	43%	7%
Detroit as a place to work	15	(Less than 1%)
Cultural (other than schools) and religious advantages	10	1
Recreation and sports	13	12
"Our neighborhood"	3	4
Housing	2	6
Personal considerations (home, friends, etc.)	1	13
Traffic, streets	(Less than 1%)	13
Physical characteristics (size, congestion, climate, clean-dirty, etc.)	7	20
Intergroup relations and kinds of people	(Less than 1%)	14
All other factors (city services, spirit of city, city government and taxes, etc.)	6	9

*A maximum of two comments was coded for each respondent. The 745 comments (468 "why good" plus 277 "why not good") were given by 473 persons, for 272 of whom two ideas were coded.

The only other preponderantly positive comments about Detroit as a place for children are those that refer to its churches and the availability of music, art, libraries and other cultural advantages.

On the negative side, last place in this table as in the more general one (Table 14) goes to "intergroup relations and kinds of people." The negative comments here are about evenly divided between those expressing anti-Negro feelings and those complaining about anti-social groups such as rowdies, hoodlums, gangsters, dope peddlers. A few examples of these responses follow:

I don't like the idea of my children going to school with colored.

It's getting bad when colored kids are raised with white kids in same schools—leading to intermarriage.

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No [not a good city to raise a family], on account of the colored people; they are too bold; they take over the streetcars, busses and schools.

No big city is good. Gangs you see even in this neighborhood—as many as 40 or 50 boys—very bad; should be a street curfew for juveniles; gangs or roughnecks in parks at night.

There are so many kinds of people and kids don't know how to take care of themselves . . . who to stay away from.

Negative emphasis was also strong in respect to physical characteristics of the city that are viewed as bad for children ("not room enough for the children, no place to play," "too many factories with foul, smokey air," etc.) and the hazards of traffic and problems created by children's playing in the streets.

Somewhat in this same vein, many mentioned more personal feelings and preferences to the effect that "Detroit is as good as any other city, but if I had a family I'd move to a small town," or "it's not as good as the country . . . or a small town for little children and young people's activities." Others point to the problem of finding adequate homes in which to rear children ("think it's good if you find a place to live").

Parks, playgrounds and other opportunities for recreation are the object of many comments, about equally divided between favorable and unfavorable. Some charge that:

Around here, there's no place for the kids to play. They run all over—people don't seem to care. There are no parks for the kids to play in.

Like other cities it's unfair to the kids; have to play in the streets and along the front sidewalks. Real estate interests are too eager to build houses where there should have been a playground for the neighborhood.

Not too good for little kids, too much traffic on the streets, and not enough playgrounds.

Depends on where you live. Fine for those of us on outskirts but not for those living in the congested and slum area where there's no room for children to play. Need playgrounds and parks in every part of town, even out here.

Everything seems too crowded here in the city to raise a family. No places to ride bicycles, no places to play, not enough recreation centers.

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Something should be done for amusements for young people. I do stress that. City should have something for youth; more than they have. That's why young people want to leave. Want to go to smaller cities.

Other respondents, however, feel differently. They say, for example:

Schools good and all the playgrounds, centers and pools for poor children; lot of advantages for children. Also many schools and recreational advantages for handicapped children.

Good playgrounds and recreational facilities.

Yes, right across the street we have playgrounds and recreation facilities. We have all we need here.

Don't even need more playgrounds. Of course we have only two children. They had plenty of room to play.

Lots of amusements, as circuses, etc. for children.

Men and women do not differ in any important way in their replies to this question. However, men are a little more inclined to give a flatly favorable answer that Detroit is a good place to bring up a family.

Negroes are a little less favorable than white respondents. They emphasize the economic advantages of Detroit more than do the white persons interviewed, but on the negative side a number of them speak out in condemnation of racial discrimination and the lack of equal opportunities for Negro children. Illustrative statements are these:

In some parts, yes [a good city to raise a family], where there are playgrounds and good schools, but in most of the Negro areas children shouldn't be raised. Too much crime and filth.

If a person gets an education here and qualifies for a job the job isn't given to him if he is a Negro because of his color.

When the Negro child tries to show his talents he is often misunderstood and consequently becomes rowdy or boisterous.

The grammar schools are not fair to them—colored kids—but high schools are good.

The schools here have too many children in them and that is easy for the wrong things to creep in. Dope peddlers can get in and not be noticed. Some children carry knives to school and the teachers never know it.

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Proud or Not Proud of Detroit

Another of the questions that throws interesting light on Detroiters' general attitudes toward Detroit asked them whether they feel proud of Detroit or not (Question 11)—and what there is about Detroit that they feel proud of or that keeps them from feeling proud of the city. As already reported (Table 2) the overwhelming majority of people declare that they are proud of Detroit. We are now interested in looking at the reasons they give.

Table 16 shows the frequency with which respondents mention different characteristics of Detroit as reasons for being proud of the city. Table 17 does the same for the characteristics that people assert keep them from feeling proud.

Table 16
Frequency of Reasons for Feeling Proud of Detroit

	<i>Percentage of 629 reasons given by respondents*</i>
Physical characteristics of the city (size, beauty, clean, etc.)	22%
Industrial importance; production achievements	18
Good place to work and make a living	14
Recreation, sports, entertainment	12
Spirit of the city (friendly, dynamic, etc.)	8
Cultural features (schools, museums, libraries, music, etc.)	7
City government and services (Police and Fire departments, progress on traffic control and civic improvements, etc.)	6
Economic advantages other than as place to work (shopping, home ownership, etc.)	4
Miscellaneous and indefinite reasons	9

*A maximum of two reasons was coded for each respondent. The 629 reasons were given by 422 persons, for 207 of whom two ideas were coded.

The three features of Detroit that head the list on the proud side are its physical characteristics (size, location, beauty, cleanness), its industrial importance (mass production of cars, "arsenal of democracy," etc.), and its advantages as a place to work.

The much smaller number of persons who are not proud ascribe their feelings predominately to the following three facets: the unfavorable physical characteristics (overgrown, crowded, slums, dirtiness, ugliness,

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smoke, etc.); unsatisfactory municipal services, politics and inefficiency in city government; the state of Negro-white relations. The majority of responses under this last category are complaints about the number of Negroes and the freedom allowed them. A number of persons, both white and colored, also refer to racial tensions and the race riots as reasons why they cannot be proud of Detroit.

Table 17
Frequency of Reasons for Not Feeling Proud of Detroit
*Percentage of 158 reasons
given by respondents**

Physical characteristics of the city (size, congestion, ugly, dirty, etc.)	30%
City government and services, way the city is run	20
Negroes and Negro-white relations	17
Spirit of the city (unfriendly, lack of civic pride, one-horse town, etc.)	9
Unions and labor relations (including DSR strike)	7
Recreation, sports, entertainment	5
Lacks culture; too industrial and work-dominated	3
Miscellaneous and indefinite reasons	9

*Again a maximum of two reasons was coded for each respondent. The 158 reasons were given by 120 persons for 38 of whom two ideas were coded.

On all the above matters and others, it is interesting to note the contrasting opinions that are expressed. People perceive and evaluate the same objective conditions in quite opposite ways, depending upon their own frames of reference and their differing experiences. Some of these contrasting views are illustrated, side by side, in the following responses:

Proud:

When people come here, there's lots to see.
I think it's one of the leading cities in [the] U.S. as far as work, education, recreation and culture [go].
In what they're accomplishing. What they're doing now. The expressways, the Civic Center. When Wayne completes its buildings.

Not Proud:

People go to other cities like New York and Chicago to see things but no one comes here. All we've got here is factories.
Not enough nice night spots in the city to show your visiting friends.
As large a city as Detroit and as many years as it is old, it should have better standing compared with other big cities

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Proud:

It impresses me as a very progressive city. When you mention to people that you're from Detroit, that gives the impression that you're lively and up and coming because they think of it as a lively and up and coming town.

It's an industrious city and a good place to make a living and where you can do that, you can be proud of your city.

And successful corporations [are] a tremendous thing for the city.

Less prejudiced than other cities as far as Negroes are concerned.

You have more freedom. Can go where you want.

People treat outsiders better than [in the] South or Southwest. They ain't tampered with. They try to be a neighbor to you.

You have more equal rights than in Louisiana.

Politically clean from underworld influences, no outbreaks of violence—like gang wars of New York and Chicago.

The Detroit River—the beautiful Belle Isle—and our new waterfront.

Improvements in city like the new Veterans Center downtown and

Not Proud:

—for example, in the entertainment field. The reasons for that of course are the factories and that Detroit is an overgrown small town rather than a large city.

Not really big accomplishments.

No World's Fair, no Olympics.

Lack of civic expansion and pride.

•

Outside of the factories—including them—it's a physical and moral disgrace.

I'm not proud of any city which controls so many people as Ford and General Motors.

So much discrimination exists. That is the only thing that I'm not proud of.

Colored situation—Negroes have too much freedom. By the time you get a home paid off, Negroes have moved in and you have got to start all over again and get home in new part of town.

The way they allow some people to move in the slum areas. Well, the race riot we had. We couldn't be very proud of that.

The way the city is run. Graft exists in all of the governing functions.

Its lack of adequate and beautiful waterfront drives and parks such as Chicago. Big businesses are allowed to mar the natural beauty and to pollute the river

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Proud:

progress in aspects of city—growing industrial, residential areas, and pretty drives and people seem to take pride in their places.

Well, it's a clean city for an industrial city and its planning in later years; its zoning has made its residential areas more desirable.

Mayor has done a lot about garbage collection—big improvement. Beautiful trees and nice parks.

It is a beautiful city for trees, parks, lovely homes—nice wide streets and beautiful shopping centers.

Not Proud:

and lakes with their waste production.

It's congested area. No thought is made for beauty—all for profit here.

Well, everything is the matter with it. It's a dirty, filthy town to begin with. They sure get enough taxes, why can't they make this a decent town to live in.

The trash hasn't been taken from the alleys in four weeks. My front lawn is always covered with papers people throw away. I can't have any civic pride in Detroit.

It's a nice city but I'm not really proud of it. It is just too dirty, garbage, streets, etc.

Two final statements are added in which the individuals effectively accent what they feel to be the positive side of Detroit's industrial character:

Knowing this is an automobile city. It gains attention of the whole world. In working in a factory, I help keep things going and that makes me real proud.

Particularly proud of the ability and ambition of the average man on the street. Anxious to succeed in their work and a credit to their corporation—and successful corporations a tremendous thing for a city.

Men and women differ in characteristic ways with respect to their reasons for feeling proud of Detroit or not feeling so. As reasons for feeling proud, the women give a decidedly larger place to the city's physical attractiveness, its schools and other cultural and religious advantages, and to such economic aspects as shopping facilities and home ownership. The men speak more of Detroit's industrial importance, its opportunities for good employment, and the favorable features of the city government and city services.

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On the "not proud" side, women stress much more strongly than men the city's undesirable physical conditions (ugly, dirty, crowded, etc.), while the men are proportionately more negative about the way the city is run and about Negroes and Negro-white relations.

The Negroes in our sample again emphasize favorable job opportunities more than do the white respondents while the latter emphasize industrial accomplishments and recreational and cultural conditions. On the negative side Negroes especially mention race relations and unfavorable aspects of the city's spirit.

When the reasons for pride in the city are tabulated by the socioeconomic level of the respondents, the only important variations are these: The economically least favored attach decidedly greatest weight to Detroit as a place to work. People in the top group scarcely mention this type of consideration but they do stress Detroit's production and industrial importance and the physical attractiveness of the city. The large middle class falls between the extreme groups with respect to the frequency with which these and other ideas are expressed. In assigning reasons for lack of civic pride, the upper group varies a little from the middle and lower in having fewer mentions of unfavorable physical characteristics of the city and more mentions of labor unions and strikes.

Age comparisons indicate some suggestive relationships as follows:

The young people are more impressed by Detroit's industrial greatness as a basis for pride. This idea occurs in 9 per cent of the reasons for people over fifty-five as compared to 21 per cent for all younger persons.

The middle-aged show less favorable interest in Detroit as a place to work than do others (10 per cent of the reasons of those between thirty-five and fifty-five; 17 per cent for all others) and correspondingly greater pride in cultural aspects of the city (9 per cent for them versus 5 per cent for the younger and older).

As might be expected, younger people place greater emphasis than older on what Detroit offers in the way of entertainment, sports and recreation (16 per cent mention this among those under thirty-five; 11 per cent among those over thirty-five).

Attention to the spirit of the city as a source of pride increases with age. It occurs with the following percentages of frequency: under thirty-five, it is 3 per cent; thirty-five to fifty-five, it is 7

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per cent; over fifty-five, it is 18 per cent.

A last comparison has to do with negative comments on city government and city services. The older "not proud" people emphasize this type of criticism. It receives 36 per cent mention by people past forty-five as against 12 per cent by those younger.

How Respondents Feel About Leaving Detroit

When asked how they would feel about leaving Detroit (Question 14) most people simply stated, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, their desire to remain here. Percentages of favorable and unfavorable response are reported in Table 2. Comparisons of responses by sex, race, and economic status reveal no important differences.

A few quotations illustrate the feelings expressed:

I feel I would die away from Detroit.

I would not leave Detroit, for any reason.

I certainly wouldn't move. I like my friends and the environment and wouldn't move for anything.

Nothing much that holds us here.

I have too much seniority where I work. I would not leave for a large town, but I would for a smaller town.

My home is here and all my ties and I love the city.

I wouldn't care about leaving Detroit but the novelty of going some place else might appeal to me.

I could leave Detroit; I wouldn't want to stay here just because it is Detroit.

Fine—wouldn't mind it [leaving] at all. Other large cities probably have more advantages such as housing conditions and traffic.

It wouldn't break my heart. I think home is where you make it—the city itself doesn't matter.

How Respondents Feel About the People in Detroit

A two-part question (Question 12) inquired what people the respondent considers "especially desirable and good to have in the city" and what ones he thinks "undesirable and not good to have in the city." This entire question yielded little of value.

The first half elicited many general statements to the effect that almost all people are nice, that you find good and bad everywhere, that law-abiding citizens are desirable and likewise people who have been here a long time (the wording of the question directed attention to this

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last variable). Respondents also spoke highly of economically sound and stable people and those who have civic interests and the right values.

The second part of the question, asking which people are undesirable, produced somewhat more definite answers along with many of the general variety. A simple classification of the more specific responses follows:

Table 18
Responses to Question Asking What People in Detroit
Are Undesirable

	<i>Percentage of 379 responses*</i>
Criminals, gangsters, etc.	26%
Poor Southern whites; hill-billies, etc.	21
Non-self supporting, transients, drifters, etc.	18
Negroes	13
Foreigners	6
People who have come lately	4
Others	12

*Only one response is included for each respondent. Thirty-six per cent of all respondents (214 of 593) gave no codable answer.

The emphasis on criminals here is at least partly ascribable to the popularity of the Kefauver investigations during the period of the survey. Thus, one response runs: "Criminals, dope peddlers, heads of rackets, number games, bookies—as shown by Kefauver."

The number of references to recent Southern migrants and hill-billies appears to reflect a significant negative feeling in the city. It is often coupled with an expression of antagonism toward transients. Examples of such statements are these:

Southerners or hill-billies—Detroit means nothing to them; they don't keep up their homes. They just come to Detroit, earn money, and go back home. They add nothing to the city.

The hill-billy is sure a great detriment. He is not thrifty or a help; just a big brawler who cares not how or where he lives; repairs nothing and does nothing to beautify the city.

The Southerners and hill-billies who migrate here because of the higher wages. They are not permanent residents, have no city pride. They do not keep up their homes so there are eye sores where they live.

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A few anti-Negro responses illustrate the tone of many:

The poor truck from the South—both white and Negro. They are not good citizens.

Colored people spreading out more. Should have their place. They and the Jews push in everywhere.

Don't come in contact with many people. Believe Negroes that are raised here are just as good as whites—but the Southern Negroes act too smart when they come up here.

Sure! The nigger and the hill-billy.

Women respondents named Negroes as undesirable twice as often as did men (18 per cent against 8 per cent). This is the only significant difference between men and women in respect to the people named as desirable or undesirable.

Much the largest group included under the "other" category in Table 18 is that of communists and radicals. Examples of references to them and to other groups in the miscellaneous category are the following:

Those who are against the city. Let them go back where they came from whether it is Russia or different states in the Union. They are not good citizens.

The communists. They are agitators—in trying to cause trouble in labor. Trying to make people discontented, especially in colored section.

Communists—good for nobody. Send them back to Russia. Too lazy, don't want to work, want someone else to work for them.

Those that don't give a damn and just let themselves get pushed around by the ruling class.

The Jew is undesirable. They have money and do as they like to do. If you get rid of them, the other folks might have a better break, get a lot of money.

Don't know of any ones—except really radical groups like Wayne University.

But the rich people do the city no good.

In the answers to this question one gets a glimpse of ugly undercurrents of hate and bigotry. It is true that these expressions occur in only a small number of cases. On the other hand, the present method of

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questioning provides no sound basis for estimating the frequency or rarity of such feelings. More intensive studies are needed for that purpose.

Opinions as to Who Has Most Influence in Detroit

Question 9 in our interview asked: "What people do you think have most influence in Detroit; what people really run the city?" The aim was twofold: first, to find out whether citizens believe that special interest groups, cliques or organizations have disproportionate power and do run the city, and second, to learn which groups people name.

Illustrative of the ideas people express are the following quotations:

The smarter run the city—and I think that is the way it should be. Toss up between automobile unions and automobile manufacturers because together they make up a powerful majority.

That's pretty hard for me to say. I know the church people have a lot of influence and the civic organizations like Kiwanis, Masons, and Moose—also the Elks.

Racketeers. Laws don't seem to control it because too many in power are racketeers themselves.

Well I think the Jews have the most influence in business. They own most of the business here and control it.

Italians—cannot be governed—too many gangs.

The Polish people—they seem to know all the politicians.

Looks like the Irishmen—all judges are Murphys.

The politicians run the city. The same group changes office among themselves—the mayor will become city treasurer, the city treasurer becomes mayor; but it's the same old bunch.

Capitalists, of course. The ones with the money are the ones that have the influence. They are the ones that have connections. They are the ones with better breaks and have an easier time living than the poor people.

I think the working man runs the city. He has more influence here than in any other city I've seen. If one big factory goes on strike, everyone suffers. What the hell, if Ford goes out on strike, we're all hurt.

The unions are running it. When voting time comes they go right into the factories and tell people how to vote.

Nobody tries to run the city—it runs smoothly. Everybody does job; nobody has undue influence.

A classification of the answers is summarized in Table 19.

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Table 19
Responses to Question Asking What
People Really Run the City

	<i>Percentage of 593 Respondents*</i>	
No special group		
Don't know, nobody in particular, no answer, etc.	22%	} 42%
Voters, the public, all groups, etc.	7	
City officials, men elected to office, etc.	13	
Special Groups		
Businessmen, industrialists, rich people, etc.	18	} 58%
Labor unions, organized labor	11	
Politicians, political bosses	11	
Jews	6	
Negroes	5	
Racketeers, gamblers, underworld, etc.	2	
Other groups	5	

*Only one idea was coded for each respondent, the one that he gave first or most definitely and emphatically. Addition of secondary ideas was found not to change the figures in the table substantially, though it does bring politicians well ahead of labor unions.

It is seen that more than 40 per cent of the people reject the idea that a particular group or groups hold power and control the city. If we were to add the category "politicians and political bosses" to the "no special group" answer, and there is some argument for doing so, then slightly over half the population would be in this class. Whichever way we classify politicians, there is clearly quite a division of opinion on the point at issue.

Sharp differences of opinion likewise exist among Detroit citizens as to who the people are who have specially great influence or power. The group most often pointed to is that comprising businessmen, industrialists, rich people. Organized labor and politicians come next, but with many fewer mentions. Jews and Negroes are each named by about one person in twenty.

Variations of response again occur among the subdivisions of our sample. This is not true of the division by sex, however; men and women show no important differences.

Negroes mention city officials and politicians (instead of giving "don't know" answers) more than do white respondents and, of greater

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interest, they scarcely ever point to organized labor (only one such response), but they name Jews more often than do others (13 per cent versus 5 per cent).

Comparisons by education and socio-economic status are particularly significant. In passing it should be noted that they account in part, but not wholly, for the Negro-white differences just described. The answers classified in Table 19 as indicating that no special group has most influence are much more frequent at low educational levels than for people with more schooling. The percentages indicating that *no special group has most influence* are as follows:

8th grade or less	50%
High school (grades 9 to 12)	41%
Above 12th grade (i.e., some college)	30%

The better educated are the ones most convinced that special groups "really run the city." They also differ from the less well educated in that they rarely name such groups as Jews and Negroes but concentrate heavily on the economic interest groups—both business and labor.

Among high school graduates and people above that level, fewer than 3 per cent say Jews and fewer than 2 per cent say Negroes; below the high school graduate level, the corresponding figures are 8 per cent and 9 per cent. Similar differences occur between the socio-economic levels, the high status group scarcely ever designating Negroes or Jews, while in the low status group 7 per cent say Negroes and 10 per cent say Jews (the middle status group is 6 per cent in both instances). The number of cases is too small to permit any conclusions as to whether it is the schooling factor or the socio-economic that contributes more heavily to these differences in response. The two factors, of course, are highly correlated with each other.

We turn finally to an analysis of the people who answer that business, industry and wealthy people have most influence, or that labor unions do. Both education and socio-economic status are important in relation to these responses.

First taking those who say business, we find that the proportion increases sharply with amount of schooling. In general, the more education people have, the more likely they are to believe that business and people with money have most influence in the city. The percentages giving this type of response are:

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8th grade or less	7%
Grades 9 to 11	18%
12th grade (high school graduate)	25%
Above 12th grade	26%

For the respondents as a whole, no significant differences occur between socio-economic levels (high, 18 per cent; middle, 19 per cent; low, 14 per cent). But for people who have attended college, a different result emerges. Among college people at the high economic level, only 12 per cent name business; at the middle and lower levels, 35 per cent do so. It would appear that those college people who are more successful economically are less inclined to think that the business and wealthy group has most influence. The college men and women who remain in the middle socio-economic bracket (there are practically none at the low level) are much more often convinced that the top economic group does run the city or have most influence.

Now for the people who say that organized labor has most influence in the city. A first tabulation by education shows some resemblance to the one given above in reference to business influence—but further analysis reveals quite different implications. The percentages saying that labor unions have most influence are:

8th grade or less	7%
Grades 9 to 11	8%
12th grade (high school graduate)	10%
Above 12th grade	26%

Here, again, the more education people have, the more likely they are to name an economic interest group. Closer examination indicates, however, that in this tabulation the differences up to the college level are insignificant. We find on further analysis that the difference between college people and others is confined to the top socio-economic category.

In fact, moreover, the socio-economic differences in general turn out to be more important here than are the schooling differences. The numbers naming organized labor as having most influence, by socio-economic levels, are:

High	27%
Middle	10%
Low	1%

Especially striking is the contrast among persons who have attended college. In the high economic status group, 49 per cent of the college-

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educated say that unions have most influence; at the middle socio-economic level the figure for college people drops to 10 per cent. Even more startling, perhaps, is the fact that at the high economic level, only 13 per cent of all the non-college respondents say labor, in contrast to the 49 per cent of college people who express this view. It is apparently the combination of higher education and high economic status that predisposes to the charge that organized labor runs the city.

These last paragraphs suggest that a fascinating study could be made of what happens to the social-political outlook of high school and college graduates depending upon the socio-economic niche they occupy.

Attitudes About Jobs and Work in Detroit

We have several times noted the important position Detroiters assign to job opportunities—to Detroit as place to work. This comes out most clearly in answer to Question 13 which asked specifically for opinions on this point. As noted earlier, 88 per cent of the people give definitely favorable replies about Detroit as a place to work; 41 per cent are very strongly favorable. Certain supplementary evidence may now be added on this matter.

To begin with, a list of illustrative quotations will indicate the tone and variety of responses obtained:

There is no place in [the] U.S. like Detroit. Detroit is the city of opportunity.

Nice place to work if you don't run into prejudice.

If a person can't make a living in this town, he can't make a living any place. That goes for both skilled and unskilled labor.

Don't think much of it—for if the factories close you're gone and there is nothing to do. No other means of income besides automobile manufacturing.

It's a good place to work if you have five years seniority on the job, otherwise you work only half the time.

Well, I think it's wonderful. Mainly the salary and living conditions—the unions see to that, I guess. Also, if a woman has to work, she can get into the factories, that is, the women have opportunities to work.

If you are in a factory, barely get existence due to layoff and change-over; difficult to make any savings.

In big companies, it's excellent. Small companies can be pretty poor.

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The hardest working town—too much work and no play—but a very good place to work.

All groups are overwhelmingly favorable in their opinions of Detroit as a place to work. Nevertheless, significant differences appear in their degrees of unanimity. For example, men are a little more favorable than women (45 per cent of men and 36 per cent of women are highly favorable; 91 per cent of men and 85 per cent of women give replies in a clearly positive direction).

People of lower socio-economic status are not as highly favorable as those better off (30 per cent are highly favorable versus 43 per cent of the middle and upper economic groups). Men in the top socio-economic group are particularly enthusiastic (57 per cent of them are highly favorable and 94 per cent in the positive direction).

Negroes are somewhat less uniformly favorable than white respondents (only 25 per cent are in the extreme favorable group compared to 43 per cent of whites; in the generally positive direction the figures are 77 per cent versus 89 per cent).

Differences by age are summarized in Table 20.

Table 20
Relationship between Age and Feeling about
Detroit as a Place to Work

	<i>Age</i>				
	<i>21-24</i>	<i>25-34</i>	<i>35-44</i>	<i>45-54</i>	<i>55 and over</i>
Very good; wonderful, etc.	25%	33%	40%	50%	42%
Good; above average	56	52	48	42	45
Fair, doubtful, or not good	19	15	12	8	13
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of persons	32	137	142	119	128

It is clear that the forty-five to fifty-four age group is most favorable; both older and younger people are less so. The youngest group is least favorable—a finding that merits serious thought by Detroiters.

Another relevant question asked employed respondents how satisfied they are with their jobs (Question 16). The interviewer showed them a simple rating card and requested them to say which of the four ratings on the card "best describes how you feel about your job." The four rating items and the results are given in Table 21.

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Table 21
Employed People's Rating of Their
Own Job Satisfaction

	<i>Number of persons</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Very satisfied	201	62%
Fairly satisfied	112	35
Rather dissatisfied	8	2
Very dissatisfied	3	1
	<hr/> 324	<hr/> 100%

The extremely small number who indicate dissatisfaction with their work is most noteworthy. While different and more penetrating types of question would probably obtain less optimistic ratings of job satisfaction, the present result can at least be accepted as evidence that negative feelings of marked intensity are certainly not widespread. This is true even though the "fairly satisfied" rating doubtless covers a wide range of feelings running from well satisfied to the borderline "dissatisfied."

The most natural and important cross-relationships to consider here are the variations in job satisfaction by occupational groups and socio-economic levels. These percentage comparisons appear in Tables 22 and 23. Since the numbers saying "rather dissatisfied" and "very dissatisfied" are so small, these two categories have been combined.

Table 22
Job Satisfaction in Relation to
Socio-Economic Status

	<i>Socio-Economic Group</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
Very satisfied	68%	62%	55%
Fairly satisfied	32	34	41
Dissatisfied	0	4	4
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	62	211	51

The differences summarized in these two tables are perhaps less than might have been expected but they are still large enough to be of some importance. Job satisfaction is found least at low economic levels and most

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Table 23

Job Satisfaction in Relation to Occupational Categories

	<i>Manager; owner</i>	<i>Profes- sional; semi-prof.</i>	<i>White Collar Upper</i>	<i>Lower</i>	<i>Manual Skilled-Unskilled semi-skilled</i>	
Very satisfied	73%	55%	72%	53%	60%	60%
Fairly satisfied	24	45	28	39	32	38
Dissatisfied	3	0	0	8	8	2
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of persons	34	29	39	36	62	120

at high levels. By occupation, satisfaction is most frequent among business managers and owners and among upper level white collar employees such as secretaries, draftsmen, technicians, bookkeepers, and traveling salesmen. The least satisfied group is composed of lower level white collar employees (clerks, typists, retail salespeople, etc.). Skilled workers and the professional and semi-professional workers come next. The unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers fall about midway among the occupational groups. It is worthy of note that almost none of the semi-skilled and unskilled say they are "rather dissatisfied" or worse.

Among the Negro workers in our sample (only 32 persons) not one individual expresses dissatisfaction (59 per cent say "very satisfied" and 41 per cent "fairly satisfied"). Of the ten Negroes who are high school graduates and in the middle socio-economic category all but one declare themselves "very satisfied." At first glance this high job satisfaction among Negroes might seem to contradict the fact noted above that Negroes speak somewhat less approvingly of work opportunities in Detroit than do white respondents. However, it probably means simply that the Negroes, while content with their own present jobs, are less happy about work opportunities in general for Negroes seeking new jobs or advancement to better jobs.

For working people as a whole it was considered likely that less job satisfaction would be found among the better educated people in occupations of lower status and lower responsibility. In fact no such relationship appears when we analyze the job satisfaction of people with different amounts of schooling who are engaged in the several classes of work. For example, among lower white collar and also among semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, no tendency at all is found for the better educated to express less satisfaction. (See Appendix, Table 31A).

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Since it is often speculated that labor unionism bears a special relation to job satisfaction, either in the sense that unionism grows out of workers' dissatisfactions or that the union stimulates dissatisfaction, it seemed worth analyzing our data on this point. It turns out that there is very little relationship. While the few who definitely declare themselves dissatisfied among manual and lower white collar workers (eleven persons) are all labor union members, a large majority of the very satisfied in these occupations likewise belong to unions (66 per cent). The percentage of "very satisfied" among union and non-union workers is almost identical—58 per cent and 59 per cent. When the union people who are active in the union—those who attend meetings at least occasionally—are compared with those who never attend meetings, it is found that the active unionists are less frequently very satisfied with their jobs than are the inactive members, but they are also less often dissatisfied (only one of the eleven persons expressing job dissatisfaction is an active union member). It appears that active participation in unions bears no relationship to personal dissatisfaction with one's job.

After respondents had registered their degree of job satisfaction they were asked what things they like and dislike about their jobs (second part of Question 16). The responses are summarized in Tables 24 and 25.

Table 24
Responses to the Question: What
Things Do You Like About Your Job?

<i>Things liked</i>	<i>Percentage of 324 respondents*</i>
Kind of work done; nature of job	49%
People I work with	31
Pay	23
Freedom; personal responsibility	15
Work environment; working conditions	14
The company; the bosses; people I work for	13
Hours	6
Chance for advancement	5
Other things	7

*324 is the total number of employed persons who were asked this question. A maximum of two ideas was coded for each respondent; hence the percentages total more than 100 per cent.

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Table 25
Responses to the Question: What Things
Don't You Like About Your Job?

<i>Things disliked</i>	<i>Percentage of 324 respondents*</i>
Kind of work done; nature of job	13%
Work environment; working conditions	13
Hours	8
Pay	7
People I work with	6
Irregular; not a steady job	3
The company; bosses; people I work for	3
No chance for advancement	2
Other things	6

*See footnote to Table 24. The total percentage here is less than 100 because many persons (155 of the 324, or 48 per cent) state there is nothing they dislike about their jobs.

These job likes and dislikes take on further meaning when studied in relation to the occupations of the respondents. Since the number of people giving each response within each occupation becomes very small, we shall present no general table but shall simply call attention to a few of the interesting comparisons that come to light in such an analysis. (Detailed figures are presented in Table 32A in Appendix E.)

In respect to "kind of work done"—that is, the appeal and interest of the job itself—the highest frequency of mention occurs among skilled factory workers (68 per cent) and the lowest among unskilled and semi-skilled non-factory workers (27 per cent). Upper level white collar employees speak of such job considerations more than do those at lower levels (54 per cent versus 39 per cent). These results support the view that industry still has a problem of making its lower grade and routine jobs inherently more attractive to workers—that is, making the work more satisfying in terms of the job activity itself.

Manual workers in manufacturing plants, both skilled and unskilled, have greater liking for their jobs in terms of interest, nature of the work, etc., than is true of people at corresponding skill levels in non-manufacturing industries—68 per cent and 51 per cent for skilled and non-skilled in factory work; 38 per cent and 27 per cent in non-factory employment. This last finding is noteworthy in view of the widespread notion that automobile plant jobs are particularly robot-like, deadly, and devoid

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of interest. The evidence here suggests that such conclusions are unwarranted.

It is true, however, that exceptionally few of the factory workers feel that they have freedom, personal responsibility, and opportunities for advancement as sources of job satisfaction. In these respects they compare unfavorably not only with white collar employees but notably also with manual workers outside of manufacturing industries. For example, the category "freedom; personal responsibility" includes comments by only 9 per cent of all manual workers in factories as contrasted with 22 per cent of other manual workers—and 33 per cent of skilled non-factory workers. For upper and lower white collar employees, the figures are 21 per cent and 14 per cent respectively. Semi-skilled and unskilled factory workers also have more dislikes focussing on working conditions than does any other group (22 per cent).

Another job characteristic that stands high is that of inter-personal relations, "people I work with." It is much more referred to by white collar and managerial groups than by manual workers (percentages of approximately 50 for the former and 20 for the latter). A chief appeal of lower level white collar employment is found in this feature of jobs. Employees in this type of work also speak more than other groups of their agreeable working conditions. The white collar people as a whole likewise emphasize more frequently than manual workers their liking for the company and the bosses. Such responses are particularly rare among skilled manual workers (6 per cent, compared to 21 per cent for white collar).

Women workers emphasize far more than men the importance of the people they work with as a feature liked about their jobs (49 per cent of women and 26 per cent of men). On the other hand, men speak somewhat more often of liking the kind of work they do (52 per cent versus 42 per cent).

Mention of satisfaction over wages or salary is most frequent for factory wage earners (30 per cent speak of it) and least in evidence for upper white collar and professional (and semi-professional) people (13 per cent and 10 per cent respectively). Complaints about pay occur most among lower white collar and non-factory manual workers (11 per cent of each group).

There are notably few references in all occupational groups to opportunities for advancement. Among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, chances for promotion are practically never mentioned either as something liked or disliked. This job characteristic apparently is not prominently on

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their minds, either positively or negatively. More surprising is the fact that salaried office employees likewise rarely speak of promotion opportunities. Only 5 per cent of them state that this is something they like about their jobs. These results suggest some important questions as to what is happening to people's career patterns and aspirations—and whether business is making the most of this potentially strong source of motivation.

Changes Desired in Detroit

Early in the interview, one other quite general question was asked in order to learn what things in Detroit people feel need to be changed or improved. The question (Question 7) inquired: "What changes would you especially like to see made in Detroit?"

At this stage of the interview we were attempting to secure people's spontaneous, volunteered ideas—whatever popped into their heads that they considered relevant to the question. Later in the interview they were asked more directed questions along the same line. These we shall analyze in subsequent parts of the report. At this point, the results to be summarized refer only to people's relatively uncontrolled comments about desirable changes.

As would be expected, the answers are similar to the statements of things disliked in the city (Tables 13 and 14). However, there is greater concentration here on concrete proposals for change about which it is believed more can be done. Responses are doubtless affected, too, by what reforms are in the air, what are deemed appropriate and expected objects of change (like DSR), and what things are immediate and obtrusive in daily life. Influences like these may be recognized as accounting for the results tabulated in Table 26. The fact remains that the matters high on the list are the subjects people have uppermost on their minds as needing change—even though on further consideration they may well rate other matters more important (as, indeed, they do in later parts of the interview).

The changes that head the list in frequency are the DSR, traffic and parking needs, and moves to beautify and clean up the city. Housing and Negro-white relations come next. On these, as well as less commonly advocated changes, most of the ideas are concrete and specific. Although one person suggested the desirability of change to "cause a Christian spirit among men," this is the exceptional type of proposal.

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Table 26
Frequency with Which Different Changes
are Desired in Detroit

<i>Changes pertaining to:</i>	<i>Percentages of 843 suggested changes*</i>	
Public transportation system, DSR		20.3%
Traffic, parking, streets		16.5
Traffic and parking	6.5%	
Street needs, expressways	10.0	
Physical characteristics of city		14.8
Ugliness		
Riverfront, river, civic center	4.7	
Other	.7	
Dirtiness		
Streets, alleys	3.2	
Other	3.8	
Other	2.4	
Housing		10.4
Shortage, home ownership	1.8	
Slums, sub-standard dwellings	6.0	
Other: zoning, rents, rent con-		
trols, government projects,		
real estate business, etc.	2.6	
Intergroup relations, kinds of people here		10.3
Negroes moving into neighborhoods	5.1	
Improve race relations, segregate		
Negroes, stop discrimination, etc.		
Other: Southerners, hillbillies,		
foreigners, criminals, Jews, etc.	1.1	
City services (other than DSR, traffic,		
streets, etc.)		7.7
Police Department	1.4	
Garbage collection, sanitation, etc.	4.4	
Other: welfare, hospitals, Fire		
Department, etc.	1.9	
Recreation and sports		6.3
Parks, playgrounds and beaches	4.0	
Other: Belle Isle, spectator		
sports, resorts, night life,		
Zoo, etc.	2.3	

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City government and taxes		5.3
City government	3.4	
Local taxes	1.9	
Schools, educational opportunities		2.6
Economic considerations (other than Detroit as a place to work)		2.1
Unions, strikes, labor-management relations	1.3	
Other: stores, shopping centers, cost of living, etc.	.8	
Cultural and religious aspects (other than schools)		1.7
Theaters, shows, churches, music, art, libraries, etc.		
Detroit as a place to work, economic opportunities		.9
City spirit		.7
Not friendly, slow, too industrial, lack of civic pride, etc.		
Personal considerations		.2
Home, friends, own feelings about city life, etc.		

*A maximum of three ideas was coded for each respondent. 18 per cent of the respondents had no changes to suggest. On the average each respondent gave only 1.4 codable ideas.

Examples of suggested changes under the main headings of the table are the following:

DSR:

I would like to see the transportation system privately owned.

Better transportation system; perhaps competitive—two or three different bus or street car systems.

[Other suggestions include building a subway, switching all street cars to busses, switching from busses to street cars, new bus lines, etc.]

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Traffic, parking, streets:

Improved streets; street really in bad shape. Street where I live is awful.

I'd like to see some of the dark streets have more lights.

A good cross-town highway with cloverleaf turns to get on and off it.

Quit making these ditches through the city.

Physical characteristics of city:

City hall is disgrace. Too antiquated and dirty, run down. I'm ashamed of it.

I'd like to see a new Civic Center, something we could be proud of.

A smoke ordinance should be drawn up against some of the factories.

Tear down all those old factories and put up clean new ones like they have some places; tear down all the houses around the downtown section and put up new houses.

There's lot of districts that need clearing, a lot of alleys. Some of the sections should be done away with, some of the bad sections. There are so many nice places going up in the outskirts that some of the bad sections should be replaced.

Housing:

Eliminate the slums and compel the Board of Health to crack down in some areas.

Should stop selling houses to the colored. Where would we move? No place—poor people have no place to move. What is the poor people to do?

I'd like to see the city zoned well enough to keep residential districts strictly residential.

Object to zoning laws even on outskirts. Have to go miles out in country before they even stop telling you how and where to build your own house.

City should not allow people to live in dumps, rat dens, overcrowded places. It's bad on people's health. City should provide better places.

Intergroup relations:

I wish the Negroes had their own section.

The two main things I would say are fair employment and equal opportunity as citizens to both Negroes and whites.

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I think the colored should have their own parks, pools and other spots.

I'd like to see the city sectioned off and have all different races sectioned off and each live in their own area. I hate to see a territory invaded, like by colored. Not a rundown one because there are fine colored people and they should get a break. But get one section and live like human beings. Separate the whites and the Negroes especially in the schools.

City services (Other than DSR, traffic, etc.):

I would like also to see some improvement in garbage and rubbish disposal such as sink disposal for garbage. One's alleys would be cleaner.

Police Department should have more colored policemen.

We need more hospitals, free, for the infirm.

Recreation and sports:

Should have more playgrounds for kids to keep them out of the streets and from getting killed by traffic.

They could improve facilities for recreation, especially tennis.

There is no place to play for those of us who work late.

The attendant at Belle Isle goes home.

Should have places for teen-agers to dance that do not sell beer.

Belle Isle could be cleaned up a little bit; could add bathing facilities.

City government and taxes:

Lower the taxes on small business and property owners. Many are moving to the country because of it.

Instead of a nine man council would like district representatives.

I'm in favor of an income tax for anyone working here and living in the suburbs. I think the suburbs are bleeding Detroit dry. They use Detroit jobs, Detroit streets, police protection, etc. They take everything out, put nothing back. I think they should consolidate the city and the suburbs.

Suggested changes in other categories:

Detroit needs an Art Center, such as Ford Foundation is planning. We do need more good plays coming to the theaters here. More guest conductors for symphony.

Get old-maid school teachers out of there and get in younger teachers who will encourage kids to like schools.

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More controls on the unions, too strong now.

The school board should make a lot of changes. There should be more trade schools for girls and boys; there are not enough of those kinds of schools here.

Change things here so that men can have steady work, to have a decent living, and raise a family—in other words be contented.

When we go to the library there seems to be no facilities for feeding books from your wonderful main library to us in the outlying districts. How about a courtesy card system or some simple system to cut the red tape.

Another thing, they need a centrally located air port.

Men are somewhat more ready to offer suggestions for changes than are women (approximately 16 per cent more per person). Characteristic differences appear, too, in the matters men and women emphasize. Men exceed women particularly in references to traffic and parking, city government, city services, and taxes, while women more frequently speak of changes to meet children's recreational needs and improvements of the schools and other cultural opportunities.

The only differences brought out by a Negro-white comparison are that the Negroes speak much more of needed changes in race relations, somewhat more of economic improvements, and less than the white respondents of changes in the city's physical characteristics and traffic conditions.

Detroiters' Appraisal of Selected Activities in the City

THE SECOND HALF of the interview asks the respondent to tell how he feels about particular aspects of Detroit life. Fourteen* different activities, services and institutions—like schools, race relations, DSR, etc.—are taken in turn and with respect to each the person interviewed first gives a simple rating that states how good or poor he considers the matter. Follow-up questions then encourage him to indicate in what ways, if any, the specified activity is not as good as it should be. After all fourteen items have been considered in this manner, the respondent is requested to say which of them he feels "it is most important to do something about in Detroit."

Detroit Activities That Are Rated High and Those That Are Rated Low

For each of the activities to be rated, the respondent was shown a small card and asked to express his own evaluation by saying "which one of the four answers (on the card) best describes what you think." The four phrases on the card were:

Very good
Fairly good
Not good
Definitely bad

Thus, the question on schools reads: "Now using the card, how do you feel about the Detroit public schools?"

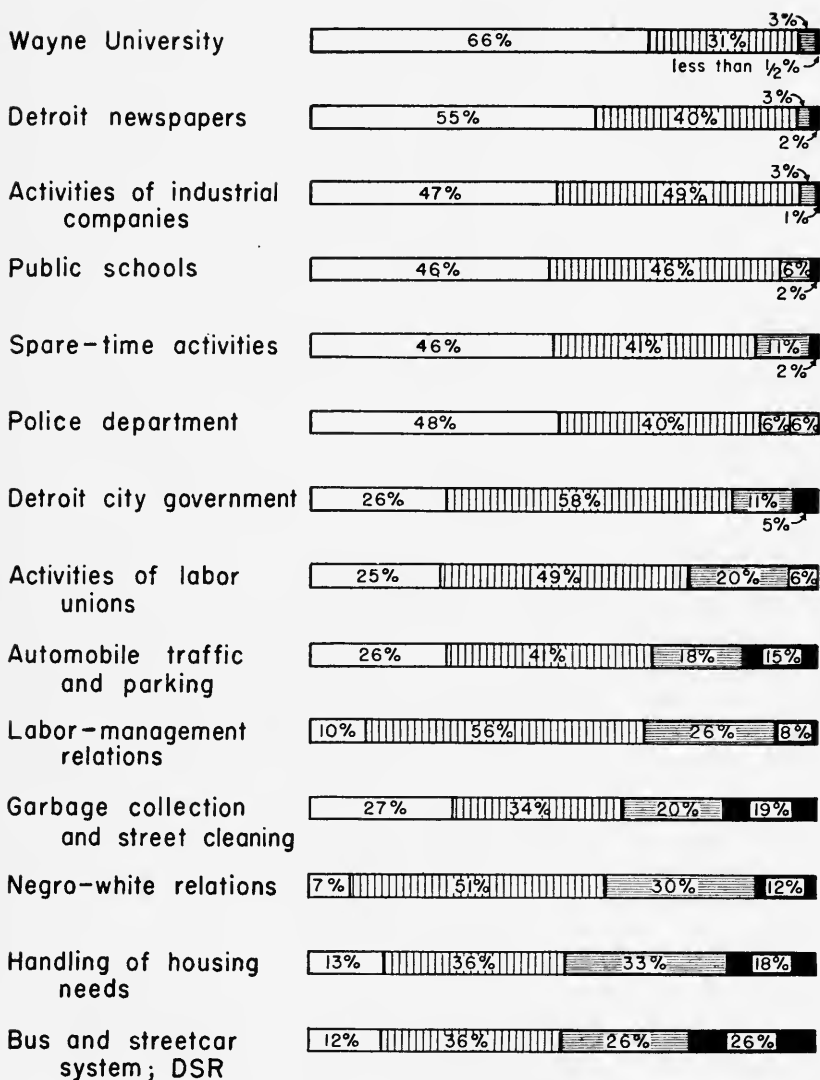
Chart 3 and Table 27 list the fourteen activities rated, in the order of the average ratings they received, from the most favorably rated to the least favorably. The first column of figures in the table gives the average ratings. The average was obtained by assigning numbers from 1 to 4 to the four degree ratings: 4 for very good, 3 for fairly good, 2 for not good, and 1 for definitely bad.

*The fourteen activities and institutions dealt with here are not to be confused with those listed in Tables 13 and 14. It happens quite accidentally that in both places the number is fourteen. The earlier list of fourteen categories emerged as a classification of the volunteered answers to several free-response questions. The fourteen categories in this present section represent points that had been selected as items to be specifically covered by separate questions in the interview.

CHART 3

PEOPLE'S RATINGS

OF 14 DETROIT ACTIVITIES



r.e.b.

VERY GOOD — FAIRLY GOOD — NOT GOOD — BAD

DETROITERS' APPRAISAL OF SELECTED ACTIVITIES

The following columns in the table show the percentages of people who rated the item at each of the four points on the scale. The last column notes the number of cases on which the average and percentages are based. The difference between this last figure and the 593 persons in our total sample represents the number of respondents who gave no rating on the particular item. (Most of those who refused did so on the ground that they did not know enough about the matter in the question.)

Table 27
People's Ratings of Fourteen Detroit Activities

	<i>Average Rating</i>	<i>Percentages giving each rating</i>				<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of Persons Rating</i>
		<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Fairly Good</i>	<i>Not Good</i>	<i>Definitely Bad</i>		
Wayne University	3.63	66%	31%	3%	*	100%	399
Detroit newspapers	3.49	55	40	3	2	100	554
Activities of industrial companies	3.42	47	49	3	1	100	526
Public schools	3.36	46	46	6	2	100	516
Spare-time activities	3.31	46	41	11	2	100	556
Police Department	3.30	48	40	6	6	100	557
Detroit city government	3.05	26	58	11	5	100	528
Activities of labor unions	2.94	25	49	20	6	100	519
Labor-management and parking	2.77	26	41	18	15	100	542
Automobile traffic relations	2.68	10	56	26	8	100	532
Garbage collection, street cleaning	2.67	27	34	20	19	100	536
Negro-white relations	2.52	7	51	30	12	100	560
Handling of housing needs	2.46	13	36	33	18	100	523
Bus and streetcar system; DSR	2.33	12	36	26	26	100	560

*Less than one-half per cent.

This table and chart provide a clear picture of what Detroit people think of certain important features of the city's life. Detroiters are well satisfied with the institutions and activities in the upper parts of the table and chart, but they are considerably dissatisfied with the matters lower down in the list.

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Detroit people express highest approval of Wayne University* and Detroit newspapers. Each of these is judged very good by well over half of the people who rate it and only 5 per cent or fewer say each is "not good." Almost as favorably regarded are the activities of industrial companies in their relations to the city and its people, the Detroit public schools, opportunities for spare-time activities, and the city's Police Department. These are judged very good by nearly 50 per cent with the "not good" ratings running only 4 per cent to 13 per cent. These top six activities clearly stand out as the ones best thought of among all those considered.

The next two topics—Detroit's city government and the activities of labor unions ("in their relations to the city and the people of the city")—receive ratings that indicate neither general approval nor disapproval. One-fourth of the people believe them very good, but much larger numbers call them only "fairly good," while 16 per cent say that the city government is "not good" or worse and 26 per cent attach these negative ratings to labor unions.

On the remaining six items in the chart the ratings of "not good" (and "bad") greatly outnumber the "very good." The DSR and the handling of housing needs stand at the foot of the list with more than 50 per cent of the estimates declaring that they are "not good" or "definitely bad." About 40 per cent assign these low ratings to Negro-white relations and to "garbage collection and street cleaning."

At the same time, it is important to note that wide differences of opinion exist on every one of the activities. Even the lowest items are rated "very good" by a significant number of people and at least a few think very poorly of even the topmost activities.

People's Judgments as to Detroit's Leading Problems

After the respondent had given his ratings of the fourteen points separately and had answered other questions about each of them, he was asked to say which he feels "it is most important to do something about in Detroit" (Question 32). The interviewer placed before the respondent a list of the fourteen matters that had just been discussed singly and asked him to "pick out the *three* things you feel it is *most important* to do some-

*We remind the reader that the respondents were given no clue at all, either before or during the interview, that would have connected the survey with Wayne University. This seems worth repeating here since it turns out that the University receives extraordinarily favorable ratings. It should also be noted that considerably more people refrained from rating the University than is the case for other items—practically all on the ground that they know nothing about the University.

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thing about in Detroit."* After the respondent had selected the three items, the interviewer asked him to say which one of the three was "the *most* important to do something about." The responses are reported in Table 28 and Chart 4.

Table 28
The Matters People Think "It is Most Important
to Do Something About in Detroit"

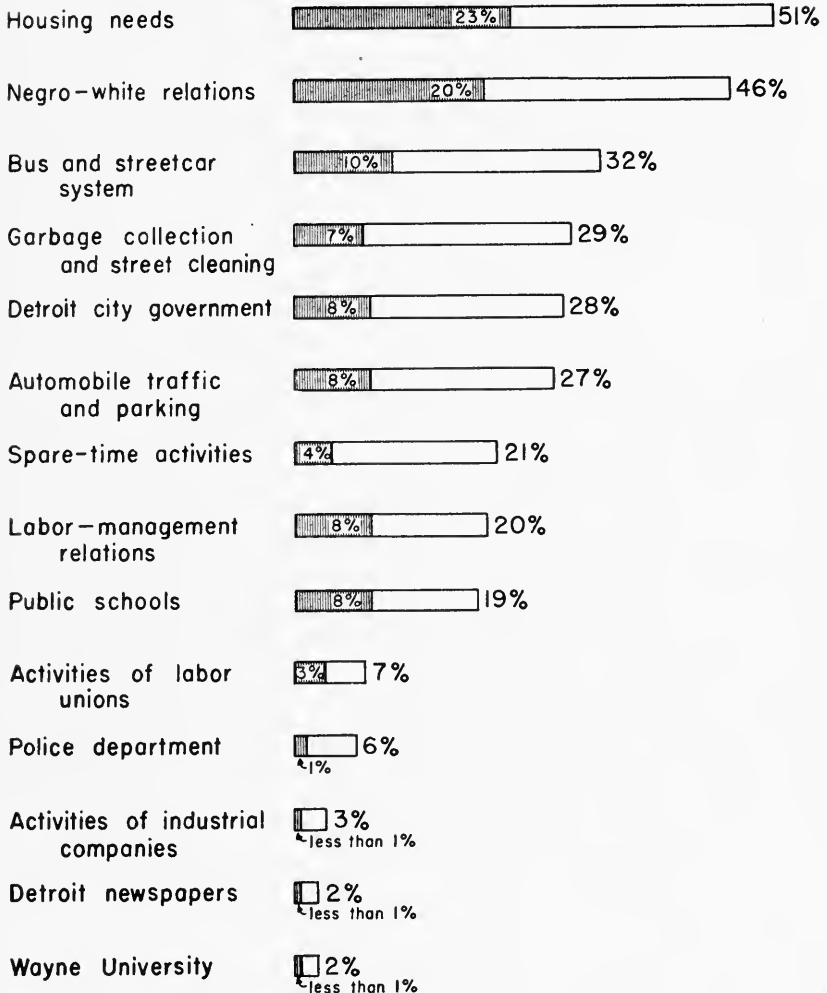
	<i>Choice of Three Most Important</i>		<i>First Choice</i>	
	<i>Percentage of 572 people responding</i>	<i>Rank Order</i>	<i>Percentage of 563 people responding</i>	<i>Rank Order</i>
Housing Needs	50.7%	1	23.4%	1
Negro-white relations	46.3	2	20.2	2
Bus and streetcar system	32.2	3	9.6	3
Garbage collection and street cleaning	29.4	4	6.7	8
Detroit city government	27.6	5	7.8	5
Automobile traffic and parking	27.3	6	7.5	6.5
Spare-time activities	20.5	7	3.9	9
Labor-management relations	19.8	8	8.2	4
Public schools	19.4	9	7.5	6.5
Activities of labor unions	7.3	10	2.7	10
Police Department	5.9	11	1.1	11
Activities of industrial companies	3.1	12	.5	12.5
Detroit newspapers	2.0	13	.5	12.5
Wayne University	1.7	14	.4	14

These results are probably the most important in the survey. Here,

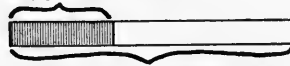
*The list was presented in two different orders to avoid favoring certain items by reason of their position in the list. Half the interviews presented the items in approximately the sequence in which they had occurred in preceding questions; the other half interchanged the first and second half of the list. A comparison of results has been made to determine the extent to which the changed order affected responses. The overall results, as indicated by the rank order of the items, remain essentially the same under the two conditions. Thus, the two rank orders of items named among the three most urgent problems agree to the extent represented by a correlation coefficient of .96. The corresponding rank-order coefficient for the two lists showing the selections of single most important problems is .88. An examination of responses by items, moreover, reveals no consistent tendency for people to select items in terms of their position in the list.

CHART 4

THE MATTERS PEOPLE THINK IT IS IMPORTANT
TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IN DETROIT



MOST IMPORTANT



THREE MOST IMPORTANT

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in a capsule, is the average Detroiters' feeling about the city's problems—as seen from where he stands, naturally. Not only do the need for housing and the problems of race relations stand first, but they exceed all the other items in frequency of mention by a wide margin. More than one-fifth of the people name each of these as the city's number one problem. Approximately one-half of all the people include them among the three most urgent problems. No other problem is a close competitor. The nearest, DSR, receives less than half as many first mentions and is included among the top three problems about two thirds as often as housing and Negro-white relations.

The problems that follow along after these few in the forefront certainly deserve notice as well. Each of them is considered a leading problem, one demanding attention, by a very sizable proportion of citizens. From this standpoint, every line in the table merits thoughtful study.

A few items shift their relative position as between the "first choice" and the choice of the "three most important" activities. This reflects an interesting tendency for people to rate certain items of *first* importance if they think the problem important at all, while other items, although important, are not so frequently given *first* rank. Thus labor-management relations and the public schools have high percentages of first choices relative to their "top three choices" while the reverse is true of garbage collection and of spare-time activities.

The findings reported in Table 28 bear significant relationships to the ratings that were presented in Table 27 and also to the free-response results analyzed in earlier sections of the report.

In general, as would be expected, the activities that are rated bad are the ones about which people feel something should be done; those rated good do not call for action. It is clear, however, that something besides the goodness-badness of a condition enters to determine the urgency of doing something to improve it. Two conditions may be viewed as equally bad but one of them *matters* more than the other. This consideration presumably accounts for the fact, for example, that though DSR is rated *worst* of the fourteen elements, it falls far below housing and race relations as a problem most important "to do something about in Detroit." Similarly, but in the opposite direction, the city government is given a moderately good rating, about midway between the highest and the lowest items, but is still fairly high on the list of matters which call for improvement. These examples illustrate the value of securing both types of response—and weighing in combination the results in Tables 27 and 28.

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It is also true that in general the findings reported in this section agree fairly well with the free-answer responses earlier discussed. The two sets of result tend to support and confirm one another. Nevertheless, differences of some interest occur and deserve comment.

Judged by the free-response questions, for example, automobile traffic and parking are considered among the worst features of Detroit, along with DSR and Negro-white relations. The more formal ratings agree in regarding race relations and DSR as belonging in this most unfavorable group, but they also include the handling of housing needs—and not traffic and parking problems. A possible explanation is that fewer people are directly affected and concerned about housing needs at any one time—that it is less obtrusively on their minds. When it is explicitly called to their attention, however, they rate it one of the most unsatisfactory aspects of the city.

Similarly, according to the volunteered responses in regard to desired changes in Detroit, DSR and traffic loom larger than do housing and Negro-white relations, while the opposite is true in the formal ratings. This can probably be accounted for by a combination of such considerations as the following: First, problems like traffic and DSR impose the inescapable irritations of day-to-day life for large numbers of people—and as such, perhaps they also become the popular whipping boys for other frustrations. Second, they are likely to seem more concrete and practical matters to suggest changing—hence more appropriate to mention in answer to a non-directive question—in contrast to the vast, forbidding problems of race relations and provision of adequate housing. When these latter are listed in the later questions, however, and thus sanctioned for choice, they are overwhelmingly selected as the matters that most call for change. Finally, the wording of the earlier and the later questions doubtless encouraged a different emphasis in responses. The one referred to personally desired changes ("What changes would you especially like to see made in Detroit?") while the later one asked for an estimate of the changes most important for the city ("... the three things you feel it is most important to do something about in Detroit").

Everything considered, we find nothing contradictory or inconsistent between the results obtained by the free-response questions and those reported in this section. Both sets of findings are significant. The volunteered ideas show what matters are uppermost in people's minds and what they feel are the natural, expected, and practical things to mention. The more formal rating responses supplement this by securing reactions to a

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number of aspects of Detroit, including ones that did not spontaneously occur to the respondent.

This latter procedure provides enlightening quantitative comparisons of how highly and how poorly the people of Detroit regard different activities and institutions in the city. It likewise has given us a rating of the aspects of Detroit that people feel especially require improvement. The outstanding new finding on this point is that the people unambiguously point to housing needs and Negro-white relations as the two problems on which action is most important. In addition, however, significantly large percentages emphasize a number of other problems that call for attention. The *kinds* of changes people desire, the *directions* they think it is important for improvements to take, we shall report in later pages (Chapter 5).

Difference in Ratings of Fourteen Activities by Different Groups in the Population

The preceding pages report ratings by the population as a whole in respect to fourteen elements of Detroit life. We shall now summarize significant differences of ratings that occur between men and women, white and Negro respondents, and people of different socio-economic status. We shall consider differences both in regard to the estimates of goodness-badness and also in respect to judgments as to which are the problems most important to do something about. We shall here limit ourselves to brief overall comparisons of the responses by subdivisions of the population; more details will be given in Chapter 5 which deals separately with each of the fourteen activities and institutions.

Tabulations showing the relationships discussed in this section are included in the appendix (Tables 25A to 30A). The rating data were also tabulated by age, but since no important variations were found, we shall omit this analysis from further consideration.

In the ratings of how good or bad each feature of Detroit is considered, men and women agree closely. Five items show small differences that are statistically worth noting (90 per cent confidence level or better). On three of these, women are a little more unfavorable than men—in regard to labor unions, labor-management relations, and handling of the housing problem. For example, 29 per cent of the women and 21 per cent of the men rate unions either "not good" or "definitely bad"; 54 per cent of women and 46 per cent of men rate action on housing in this way. Men are slightly more unfavorable than women in regard to traffic and

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parking; 37 per cent of men are unfavorable versus 29 per cent of women. More men than women rate the Police Department "very good"; 52 per cent versus 43 per cent.

Men and women likewise agree well in their judgments concerning the problems that most urgently call for action. Housing and race relations are ranked first and second by both. However, a larger proportion of women point to these problems. There is a considerably greater gap between these first two items and the next ones in the votes of women than of men. Thus, among the women, 55 per cent include housing in their three most important problems and 50 per cent include Negro-white relations; the next percentage drops to 29. Among men the corresponding figures are 45 per cent and 42 per cent and then a slight drop to 37 per cent. The only other sex difference to note is that women attach lower importance to traffic and parking problems: 22 per cent include it in the three most important while 33 per cent of the men do so.

Comparison of Negro and white respondents reveals differences of substantial size. Negroes rate the Police Department, the handling of housing, garbage collection and street cleaning, and Detroit newspapers decidedly worse than do others. The percentage of Negroes who assign the "definitely bad" rating to these, compared to the percentage of such ratings by the remainder of the population, is as follows:

	<i>Per cent giving ratings of "definitely bad"</i>	
	<i>By Whites</i>	<i>By Negroes</i>
Police Department	3%	31%
Handling of housing needs	15%	36%
Garbage collection and street cleaning	17%	32%
Detroit newspapers*	1%	5%

*Newspapers are rated "not good" or "definitely bad" by 3 per cent of whites and 16 per cent of Negroes.

The major part of these differences persists when the comparisons are made within the separate socio-economic strata; they are not due simply to the economic level of Negroes. Significant but less pronounced differences exist in respect to several other items. Negroes give worse than average ratings to the public schools and the city government and better than average to Negro-white relations.

When we turn to opinions on what problems most need attention, certain outstanding differences appear that fit in with the above ratings. Most notable is the greater emphasis placed by Negroes on housing

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and on the Police Department. They also place Negro-white relations in first place more frequently than do others (but not quite as frequently among the top three problems as is done by other people). It is notable that 67 per cent of Negroes place one of these three—housing, race relations, or the police—first in importance; 42 per cent of the white population do so. These comparisons are shown in the following percentages:

	<i>Per cent naming each item as the most important problem</i>	
	<i>By Whites</i>	<i>By Negroes</i>
Police Department	0%*	9%
Housing needs	23	32
Negro-white relations	20	26

*One person in 500.

Corresponding comparisons based on selection of the three most important problems are these:

	<i>Per cent naming each item among the three most important problems</i>	
	<i>By Whites</i>	<i>By Negroes</i>
Police Department	4%	21%
Housing needs	49	62
Negro-white relations	47	41

Negroes place proportionately less emphasis on problems relating to traffic and parking, DSR, labor-management relations and labor unions.

Socio-economic groups are found to differ on almost all of the fourteen points rated—in the logically expected direction and with the middle stratum consistently falling in line between the upper and lower levels. The findings in general thus underscore the importance of socio-economic conditions and relationships as influences on the experiences and outlook of people.

The greatest differences in ratings by socio-economic status occur in respect to labor unions and the meeting of housing needs. For example, the activities of labor unions are rated much more favorably by the lower income people, and these rate the handling of housing needs much less favorably than do groups that are better off. The percentage comparisons are as follows:

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	<i>Per cent of each socio-economic group rating labor unions favorably and unfavorably</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
Unions "very good"	7%	26%	41%
Unions "not good" or "definitely bad"	45	23	12
	<i>Per cent rating the handling of housing needs favorably and unfavorably</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
Handling "very good"	16%	14%	8%
Handling "not good" or "definitely bad"	45	46	70

Other large differences occur between economic levels on labor-management relations and the traffic-parking category (both rated higher by people of low economic status). The low socio-economic group also rates race relations and the activities of industrial companies a little worse than do the high status people; it rates opportunities for spare-time activities and the DSR a little better than they do.

A final set of comparisons deals with judgments concerning the city's problems, as seen from the several economic levels. Housing and race relations remain the top two problems in importance for all three socio-economic groups. However, great differences in emphasis appear from one level to another. Housing is named first in importance by 32 per cent of the low economic group and by 22 per cent of the middle and the high groups. Negro-white relations receives 28 per cent first choices by the low, 20 per cent by the middle and 13 per cent by the high. These two problems together, then, are named by 60 per cent of the low group, 42 per cent of the middle group, and 36 per cent of the upper group. If we take the problems named as among the three most important, the figures for housing are: low group, 62 per cent and high group, 46 per cent; for race relations, low group, 57 per cent and high group, 39 per cent.

The only other matters more frequently viewed as important by low than by high status people are garbage collection and street cleaning, city government, and the Police Department. Ones significantly more often mentioned as important (among three most important) by the upper group are traffic and parking (36 per cent by high versus 13 per cent by low), DSR (39 per cent versus 17 per cent), labor-management relations (28 per cent and 16 per cent), and labor unions' activities (13 per cent and 4 per cent).

CHAPTER 5

Attitudes Concerning Each of Fourteen Activities in Detroit

IN THE PRECEDING section we listed a number of the city's problems and noted which of these people are most concerned about. The present section of the report deals with more detailed analyses of the findings and with the *content* of people's concern in regard to these matters.

The interview inquired about each institution or activity—the public schools for example—by asking first for a rating of how good or bad it is and then having the respondent tell “*in what ways* are the schools not as good as they should be?” In this section, we shall emphasize the main ideas secured in response to this last type of question.

The accent of the questions in this portion of the interviews was on criticisms, on needed improvements. Earlier sections of this report have noted the large amount of satisfaction and approval people express toward Detroit and various aspects of the city's life. But people also have complaints. It appears valuable to explore their points of dissatisfaction in order to understand the types of improvement that may be desirable and the negative attitudes that may need to be changed or cleared away.

Attitudes Concerning the Housing Situation

Housing needs are rated Detroit's topmost problem by the people we interviewed. Nearly one person in four rates it the most urgent single problem (23 per cent) and half of all people include it among the three most important problems (51 per cent). It is placed first in importance “to do something about” by people at all socio-economic levels, by both men and women, and by Negro as well as white respondents. It is considered most important by especially large numbers of people in the lower economic range and by the Negro people. In each of these groups, 62 per cent of the people name housing needs as one of Detroit's three most urgent problems.

When people were asked how well the need for housing is being handled, 51 per cent said “not good” or “definitely bad” in contrast to either “fairly good” or “very good.” This is lower than any other set of ratings save those for DSR. Particularly bad ratings are assigned by Negroes and by people in the low socio-economic stratum.

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In the low economic group, 70 per cent say the way housing is dealt with is not good (or is bad) while above this level 46 per cent rate it this low. Among Negroes as a whole, 73 per cent give the "not good" (and "bad") ratings—and at the low economic level 90 per cent of them give these ratings. Slightly worse than average ratings are also registered by women, by people who rent in contrast to those who own their houses, and by people who have come to Detroit since 1945. Among newcomers since 1945, there are 60 per cent who give ratings of "not good" and "definitely bad."

While housing was not one of the most often mentioned matters in the spontaneous comments secured in the early part of the interview, the references to it were overwhelmingly in the unfavorable direction. Volunteered suggestions as to changes desired in Detroit placed housing fourth highest (after DSR, traffic and parking, and cleaning and beautifying the city).

If people are so dissatisfied and concerned about the housing situation it becomes important to inquire further into the nature of their complaints. This was done by asking them to say in what ways the need for housing is not being handled as well as it should be. Their answers, when classified, distribute themselves as shown in Table 29.

Table 29
Ways in Which Detroit People Think That Housing Needs
Are Not Being Handled as Well as They Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 564 "ways" named by respondents*</i>
Cost of housing too high; rents too high	32%
Lack of housing; shortage (in general or for poor, middle income, etc.)	27
Public housing projects inadequate; policies and procedures unsatisfactory	25
Difficult to rent with children	5
Homes poorly constructed; graft and inefficiency in new building	3
Rent control undesirable or unfair	2
Other	6

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent was coded. The 564 comments were given by 428 persons, for 136 of whom two ideas were coded.

ATTITUDES CONCERNING EACH OF FOURTEEN ACTIVITIES

In this table and many similar ones to follow, we summarize the opinions people expressed about ways in which Detroit's institutions and activities are "not as good as they should be." Since many persons had no criticisms or complaints to voice in response to such questions, it is to be noted that the comments in each of these tables do not come from our total sample. The actual number of respondents who gave answers is reported in the footnote to each table. For example, in Table 29 the answers came from 428 of the 593 respondents. The absence of critical comment is particularly frequent among those persons who rated the given activity or institution "very good." This is true both because they are less likely to have criticisms and because the form of the follow-up question to them made it easy to say "no." They were asked the question in the form: "Are there any ways the need for housing is not being handled as well as it should be?" For all other respondents the form of the question was: "In what ways is the need for housing not being handled as well as it should be?"

The first two categories of Table 29 require no explanation. Together they comprise the majority of all the negative criticisms—that there are not enough homes available and that rents and purchase prices are too high.

A fourth of all the complaints are in the next category—directed against the lack of sufficient public housing and, especially, against what are believed to be unnecessary delays, discrimination, and poor policies and practices in respect to slum clearance, handling of displaced tenants, etc. Negro respondents especially emphasize these points; 45 per cent of their responses deal with such considerations (among whites, 22 per cent). These criticisms are also ones more often stressed by men than by women (29 per cent by men, 21 per cent by women) and more by people at low socio-economic levels than by those better off (31 per cent of the lower group, 24 per cent of the middle and 22 per cent of the upper groups). Examples of the comments on housing that illustrate the categories of Table 29 are listed below.

Shortage of Housing and High Cost

There's a shortage of housing. It costs so much to buy a home. The man who needs it can't get hold of it, the man with children. They won't rent to him because he has children, and if they do, the price is so high that he can't pay it and take care of his children, too.

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It isn't improving at all. The need for housing is getting greater and nothing is being done about it.

Not enough cheap housing being built for low income bracket.

We need lots of houses so you can move when something gets on your nerves. If people can have enough places to move in, there would be less mental cases.

The lack of building up of apartment buildings is deplorable in contrast with other large cities; the need is terrific in the moderate rental building.

Hard to get a house. Have been trying ever since the second World War started; just none around. Not satisfied with where I am living, house is cold in the winter and I can't heat it.

Surely we need more rental housing for the moderate income. No house built in past few years under \$100 per month to rent. Something should be done.

Public Housing Shortcomings

Well, as far as city housing projects go, I think it's a disgrace for Detroit. Like the veterans, they don't have anything but the quonset huts yet. Like for the lower income brackets, they should provide more houses so they can still keep their self-respect.

The city is not taking advantage of funds made available by Congress for low-cost public housing. The dropping of all the sites on which the city had option to build was a pathetic thing.

The mayor is so interested in building big buildings to show off that there is little left for houses.

For one thing I know of, they displaced an awful lot of families on new highway; let them shift for themselves; caused a lot of hardship.

Houses are being built too slow. They tear down houses so fast people don't have a place to live. Some around here live in garages because they can't find a house.

Housing has been short before the war and after the war and is still a problem. The older buildings are still standing here. Other cities have torn them down and built apartment houses with playgrounds for people who can only afford a certain amount. There's certainly enough money coming into Detroit to take care of that.

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They have projects but if you make too much you can't get in. They need more projects where you can get in if you make over \$1.70 an hour. That's not much with four kids.

The government doesn't build enough houses.

More money should be allotted by the city or private ownership to eliminate the slums and have new houses. An old house should be discarded just like an old, worn-out pair of shoes.

City should subsidize housing, make more decent homes to sell at \$9,000 to \$10,000 if possible.

A lot of the buildings Negroes are living in should be condemned. More housing projects are needed and they should be for all races—not all Negro or all white.

Other Comments on Housing

Too many building materials [going] into apartments where people with children don't have a chance.

Houses aren't [sold for] what they're worth; materials are poor.

Those prices are a shame, and for things that aren't worth it.

Some sections, the slum sections, need cleaning up—around Hastings, St. Aubin, Lafayette: they definitely need cleaning up.

Should have penalties on property owners who let their property run down.

A man should be able to rent his property for what he wants.

It should be left up to the individuals themselves; more single dwellings; fewer housing projects.

I understand that property in many of the sections close in to the downtown is so zoned as to prevent apartments being built.

This is wrong and should be rectified.

Trouble is due to the call for transients (in Southern newspapers), factory workers who come and go. Therefore build and sell and rent poor quality houses for and to these same people.

Throwing houses together too fast—they won't last. Too close together.

The predominant attitudes concerning housing needs are seen to be remarkably simple. People want adequate houses at rents or costs they can afford. Since to large numbers of low income people this means public housing, their concern is frequently expressed over the inadequacies and faults that seem to them to exist in current public housing activities.

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The straightforward and uncomplicated nature of the complaints is in no way inconsistent with the intensity of feeling on the housing problem. The evidence is unmistakable that people do consider the housing situation bad and that they believe action to improve the condition is urgently called for. After all, the people of Detroit do assign it first place among all the aspects of the city about which something needs to be done. True, the general run of the population has little to suggest in the way of concrete methods for improvement. Nor can most people even offer specific criticisms. All they know is that the problem is one of prime importance. And a large number of them believe that it is not being met as well as it should be.

Attitudes Toward Negroes and Negro-White Relations

Negro-white relations stood second—very close to housing—as a problem that it is “most important to do something about in Detroit.” Race relations was assigned this position of urgency by all groups, with especially large percentages by women and by people of lower socioeconomic status.

On the general good-bad ratings, Negro-white relations stood far down the list; only the DSR and the handling of housing needs were rated lower. Nevertheless, it should be noted that more people think Negro-white relations “fairly good” or “very good” than think them “not good” or “definitely bad.” Negroes are a little more favorable than white respondents. The figures are summarized in Table 30.

Table 30
Rating of Negro-White Relations by Negro and White
Respondents

	<i>By Whites</i>	<i>By Negroes</i>	<i>Total</i>
Very good	7%	8%	7%
Fairly good	49	61	51
Not good	31	21	30
Definitely bad	13	10	12
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	499	61	560

We also asked respondents whether Negro-white relations in Detroit are getting better or worse. Most people believe they are growing better. Again the Negroes are more optimistic than the population as a whole. Table 31 gives the percentages.

ATTITUDES CONCERNING EACH OF FOURTEEN ACTIVITIES

Table 31

Reponses to Question Whether Negro-White Relations
Are Getting Better Or Worse

	<i>By Whites</i>	<i>By Negroes</i>	<i>Total</i>
Better	57%	67%	58%
Same	9	12	10
Worse	34	21	32
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	427	57	484

Persons who think that Negro-white relations are already fairly good tend also to believe that the relations are improving; those who consider the relations not good tend to see them as growing worse. This tendency is clear in the figures of Table 32, A and B.

Table 32

Relationship Between Two Sets of Ratings Pertaining
to Race Relations

A. Ratings by White Respondents

Race relations growing:	<i>Race Relations Now:</i>	
	<i>Good</i>	<i>Not good</i>
Better	76%	33%
Same	10	8
Worse	14	59
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	236	186

B. Ratings by Negro Respondents

Race relations growing:	<i>Race Relations Now:</i>	
	<i>Good</i>	<i>Not good</i>
Better	72%	53%
Same	13	12
Worse	15	35
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	39	17

Evidence will now be summarized that indicates, too, that the white people who rate Negro-white relations not good and who think the relations are deteriorating tend also to be persons who hold unfavorable attitudes toward the acceptance of Negroes without discrimination. Put the

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other way, it appears probable that prejudice against Negroes in many cases leads to the belief that race relations are bad and that they are growing worse.

A general estimate of each respondent's feelings toward Negroes was arrived at by reading through all his responses that pertained to Negroes. On this basis, the white respondents were classified into three groups—those in general favorable toward full acceptance of Negroes, with equal rights for the races, those unfavorable to such acceptance, and those whose comments were neutral, ambiguous or for other reasons could not be rated. The percentages classified into these three groups are as follows:

Table 33

**Classification of White Respondents by Their Expressed
Feelings Toward Acceptance of Negroes**

Feeling toward acceptance of Negroes without discrimination:

Favorable toward full acceptance	18%
Neutral, ambiguous and not classifiable	28
Unfavorable toward full acceptance	54
	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	530

These figures indicate the large amount of prejudice and opposition to full acceptance of Negroes that was expressed in the interviews. The 54 per cent would be increased by an unknown number of those in the middle category who may have simply refrained from divulging their true feelings. If we assume that the 28 per cent lean one way or the other in about the same proportions as the other respondents, the figures would mean that approximately three-fourths of the white population of Detroit expresses views opposed to the improvement of race relations on a non-segregation, non-discriminatory basis.

Now to return to the thought stated above, we can compare the respondents who express prejudiced attitudes with those who do not to see how they differ in their ratings of Negro-white relations. It is clear (Tables 34 and 35) that the unfavorable and pessimistic ratings of Negro-white relations come disproportionately from the persons who openly express sentiments against equal treatment. The following tables and discussion refer to white respondents only.

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Table 34

Relationship Between Feelings Toward Negroes and Ratings of Negro-White Relations (White Respondents)

Rating of Negro-white relations:	<i>Feelings toward accepting Negroes</i>		
	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Neutral or Not classifiable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>
Good	75%	67%	45%
Not good	25	33	55
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	94	126	279

Table 35

Relationship Between Feelings Toward Negroes and Beliefs Concerning the Trend in Race Relations (White respondents)

Race relations growing:	<i>Feelings toward accepting Negroes</i>		
	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Neutral or Not Classifiable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>
Better	84%	82%	37%
Same	8	6	11
Worse	8	12	52
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	87	99	241

It becomes of some importance, now, to analyze the kinds of people who are especially inclined to hold unfavorable attitudes toward accepting Negroes and who have associated negative feelings concerning race relations in Detroit as contrasted with those who are more favorable.

In making this analysis we shall include another measure of feelings toward Negroes, along with the ratings just described. This measure is based on peoples' responses to a question asking them what they feel ought to be done about Negro-white relations in Detroit (Question 23c). The answers group themselves rather sharply into two divisions—those that propose some form of segregation as against those that advocate non-discrimination, education to improve understanding, improvement of Negroes' living conditions, etc. The segregation answers occur in 68 per cent of all the comments, the non-discrimination answers in 26 per cent, and other answers in 6 per cent.

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The 68 per cent figure constitutes another measure of feelings toward Negroes and the recognition of their rights. It differs from the 54 per cent classed as "unfavorable" in Table 33 because of the rather large number of respondents (114 of the 530) who gave no usable answer to this question and were consequently omitted in computing percentages. Most of these 114 persons fall into the neutral or ambiguous category of Table 33 and, as we noted in discussing that table, an unknown number of these persons would go to increase the 54 per cent who expressed unfavorable attitudes.

The two classifications agree closely with each other—since in fact the ratings in Table 33 were based in no small part on the responses that enter into our new classification. The segregation-type answer occurred only once (1 per cent) among the responses of those classified as favorable in Table 33; it occurred in 91 per cent of the replies by persons rated as unfavorable. Similarly, answers advocating understanding, non-discrimination, etc., comprise 90 per cent of the comments by people rated as favorable toward fully accepting Negroes, with only 7 per cent for those classified as unfavorable.

Since the two ways of indicating favorable and unfavorable feelings toward accepting Negroes are so nearly identical, we shall treat them together in reporting who the people are who tend to hold the contrasting attitudes.

The most significant relationships are with education and with socio-economic status. The better educated and those at higher socio-economic levels express more favorable feelings toward full acceptance of Negroes. Greater prejudice and dissatisfaction with Negro-white relations are expressed by persons with less schooling and in lower economic brackets.

The percentages of people classified as having unfavorable attitudes toward acceptance of Negroes, by educational levels, are as follows:

College graduates	27%
Some college	42
High school graduates	52
All below high school	
graduates (little varia-	
tion among these)	64

Corresponding percentages showing the proportion of comments that advocate segregation are these:

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College graduates	52%
Some college	55
High school graduates	61
All below high school graduates	79

As explained above, these last percentages run higher than those immediately preceding because those are percentages of *all* respondents, including ones who voiced no opinions, while these last percentages are based only on the replies of persons who expressed their views. The former percentages would be increased if we could add in the views of the persons who remained "unclassified."

By socio-economic levels the percentages of respondents classified as unfavorable to Negro acceptance are:

High	42%
Middle	56
Low	63

Again the proportion of comments in favor of segregation yields a similar picture:

High	56%
Middle	70
Low	85

Further analysis of education and socio-economic status considered together reveals that at each of the three economic levels separately the persons with more schooling are most favorable to full acceptance of Negroes. Similarly, within each sub-group by amount of education, the people of lowest economic standing are most unfavorable and those at the upper economic level are, with one slight exception, most favorable. The exception is that the group with twelfth grade schooling is a trifle more favorable in the middle than in the upper economic bracket. On the whole, the results here indicate that *both* education and socio-economic status, independently of each other and to approximately the same degree, are determinants of favorable and unfavorable feeling toward Negroes and the granting of equal rights.

Parallel tendencies are found in respect to the ratings of Negro-white *relations*. The upper socio-economic group rates race relations in Detroit more favorably (63 per cent "very good" or "fairly good" as compared to 56 per cent of the middle and 46 per cent of the lower economic groups).

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Closely similar figures occur in the ratings of trends in race relations. Comparisons by schooling show that the better educated groups also give more favorable ratings, though the differences are less than those in the socio-economic comparisons.

These data pertaining to ratings of race relations offer a partial refutation of the view that perhaps the upper income and better educated respondents were not really more favorable than other people toward accepting Negroes but were merely more circumspect in referring to Negroes and more reluctant to express their negative feelings. The fact that they are likewise more favorable and optimistic in regard to relations between the races where there is no apparent reason for "covering up," suggests that the explanation goes deeper. It appears reasonable to infer that education and the possession of higher social status do diminish racist attitudes.

Analysis of attitudes toward Negroes and ratings of Negro-white relations by different occupational groups yields results consistent with those above. Business owners and managers and the professional and white collar occupations are most favorable toward full equality, and they rate race relations above average; skilled workers in manufacturing and the semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers generally rate relations worst and also express most feeling against acceptance of Negroes.

Several other factors were investigated that it was thought might show relationships to attitudes on race relations. A number of these are briefly reported in the following paragraphs—some because they do prove to be related and others because the absence of relationship is itself enlightening.

Age turns out to be relatively unimportant except for the youngest group of adults. No general or consistent age trends are manifested. However, the youngest group—unfortunately very small—shows a strikingly more favorable attitude toward Negroes than is found at all other ages. It seems possible that this reflects the work of the schools in recent years, but we have no evidence on the point. Among the twenty-one to twenty-four year olds (twenty-eight individuals) only 32 per cent are classified as having anti-Negro attitudes. The average for all other age groups is 55 per cent. Correspondingly, 54 per cent of the comments of this youngest group suggest segregation as compared with 69 per cent for all other white respondents.

This youngest group, moreover, is more *dissatisfied* with the present conditions of race relations than any other group, but at the same time it is *most optimistic* of all in its view that Negro-white relations are grow-

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ing better. Parenthetically, it should be noted that the only other age group nearly as optimistic is that of people fifty-five and over.

No significant differences in attitudes are found between men and women.

Unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes and their equal treatment are slightly more common than average among people who came to Detroit during the '30s and '40s and slightly less frequent among those born here and those who came before 1920 (60 per cent of those who came since 1930 express unfavorable attitudes; 48 per cent of native Detroiters and 51 per cent of the people who came before 1920). Unfavorable ratings of Negro-white relations show this same trend, though the differences are not large enough to be statistically significant. Comments favoring segregation show a similar and clearer relationship—83 per cent among people here less than three years, 75 per cent for those here three to six years, 69 per cent for those who came earlier, and 63 per cent for natives of Detroit.

It is also found that among Negroes themselves, those who have lived longer in Detroit rate the condition of race relations more favorably—perhaps because they have seen a change for the better. Of the Negroes who came here during the '40s, 56 per cent say Negro-white relations are good; of those who came in the '30s, 73 per cent give this rating and among those who came earlier, the figure is 81 per cent.

The part of the United States people came from makes surprisingly little difference in regard to their favorable or unfavorable attitudes about Negroes. Southerners who now live in Detroit are no more frequently negative about Negro rights or more in favor of segregation than are people from other parts of the country. (This statement refers to the number of persons expressing the attitudes, not to the content or intensity of the attitudes.) When it comes to rating the condition of race relations in Detroit, the Southerners likewise do not differ significantly from people who come from other sections of the United States.

People who lived in other countries before coming to Detroit are more favorable toward Negroes. Among those from foreign countries (including Canada), 46 per cent express feelings unfavorable to fully accepting Negroes; the figure for white respondents who came to Detroit from within the United States is 58 per cent. Those from other countries also find Negro-white relations less satisfactory (52 per cent rate the relations "fairly good" or "very good," while these ratings are given by 60 per cent of those who lived elsewhere in this country).

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In this foreign group, and likewise in the youngest age group discussed above, the more favorable than average attitudes toward accepting Negroes are accompanied by ratings of Negro-white relations that are more *unfavorable* than average. This runs counter to the relationship within the main body of data in which it is the people prejudiced against Negroes who tend most often to rate race relations as bad. The meaning of both findings seems clear: They indicate that most of the people who rate Negro-white relations as unsatisfactory do so because they believe that Negroes have too many rights, that they are not sufficiently segregated, etc. But certain groups—those with foreign background and the youngest age group—tend to reverse this thinking and condemn the present state of race relations for the opposite reason, that Negroes are not granted equal treatment.

Attitudes toward Negroes are also found to differ somewhat from one religious group to another. Summary figures are shown in Table 36.

Table 36
Relationship Between Feelings Toward Negroes
and Religion of Respondents

Feelings toward Negroes:	<i>Protestant</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>All others*</i>
Favorable	17%	12%	43%
Neutral, ambiguous and not classifiable	30	25	25
Unfavorable	53	63	32
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	264	208	53

*These are made up about equally of Jews and others who say either "no church preference" or "Greek Orthodox" or something else.

The differences between these religious groups in amount of unfavorable attitude are significant at the 95 per cent confidence level. The question at once arises whether the differences are due to other associated variables, especially to socio-economic standing and education. This is found not to be the explanation, in the case of these two variables at least. Within each of the three socio-economic strata separately the Catholics have the highest ratio of unfavorable attitudes to favorable attitudes toward Negroes; and in each instance the "all others" group is most favorable. At the upper socio-economic stratum, feelings unfavorable to Negroes are expressed by 43 per cent of Protestants and 63 per cent of

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Catholics; at the middle level, by 54 per cent of Protestants and 62 per cent of Catholics; at the lower status the two groups are about the same in unfavorable percentages (68 per cent and 66 per cent respectively) but only 3 per cent of the Catholics as against 13 per cent of the Protestants express favorable attitudes toward Negroes.

By schooling, it again turns out that the figures at each educational level show the same relationship among the three religious groups. For those with eighth grade schooling or less, the percentages unfavorable are: Catholics 70 per cent, Protestants 63 per cent; for ninth grade through twelfth. Catholics 64 per cent, Protestants 58 per cent; above high school, Catholics 42 per cent, Protestants 29 per cent. At each level the small group other than Protestants and Catholics has a higher ratio of attitudes favorable to acceptance of Negroes than do either Catholics or Protestants.

It is also of interest to compare labor union members and non-union members as to their attitudes on race relations. The United Automobile Workers (CIO) and other unions have taken clear positions against discrimination and have exerted persistent efforts to educate their membership to accept Negroes without prejudice. To what extent have these efforts succeeded? The evidence from our interviews gives a predominantly negative answer. Union members as a whole do not differ significantly from the remainder of the population. The slight difference that does appear shows the union people less favorable than others toward accepting Negroes. When the analysis is made for manual workers alone, the unionists are a trifle more favorable than non-unionists, but again the difference is not great enough to be statistically reliable (63 per cent of the union workers and 69 per cent of others are classified as unfavorable to Negro acceptance).

Comparison of CIO members with those in AFL and independent unions (considering only manual workers) reveals that the CIO has slightly larger numbers opposed to equal treatment of Negroes than do the other unions (65 per cent in CIO as against 58 per cent in the others). At the same time, however, the CIO also has more who express positive opinions in favor of full racial equality (18 per cent of CIO manual workers, 8 per cent for other unions, and 10 per cent of non-union people in these occupations). This suggests that CIO efforts to combat prejudice and discrimination may tend to polarize attitudes, increasing both the "pro" and "anti" views (CIO manual workers have 18 per cent "neutral, ambiguous," etc., while other unions have 33 per cent).

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One other type of relationship appeared important to study to see if it would throw further light on attitudes toward Negroes in Detroit. The analysis attempts to answer the question whether more favorable or less favorable attitudes exist in those neighborhoods which include Negro as well as white residents. How do the attitudes of white people with Negro neighbors compare with the feelings of people living in all-white districts?

For this purpose, we classified the census tracts in which interviews were conducted according to the proportion of Negroes in each. It was necessary to utilize 1940 census data since no more recent figures were available. Later, however, we also considered a special set of census tracts in which the Negro population was known to have increased considerably in the past few years.

The differences in attitudes are not great but indicate slightly more favorable feelings in the neighborhoods where a small number of Negroes live. Attitudes appear a little less favorable both in the solidly white districts and in those with a larger number of Negroes. These comparisons are shown in Table 37.

Table 37

**Relationship Between Feelings Toward Negroes by Whites
and Number of Negro Residents in Census Tract**

Feelings toward acceptance of Negroes:	<i>Negro Population of Census Tract (1940)</i>		
	<i>Less than 10 (usually 0)</i>	<i>10-100</i>	<i>More than 100</i>
Favorable to full acceptance	14%	30%	12%
Neutral, ambiguous and not classifiable	30	22	32
Unfavorable to full acceptance	56	48	56
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	367	122	41

It is seen that in tracts which had from ten to one hundred Negroes in 1940, almost one-third of the white population expresses favorable attitudes toward Negroes, while fewer than half this many express such feelings in the other districts. At the same time a slightly smaller proportion express anti-Negro attitudes.

The differences are similar but slightly greater when we compare these census tracts as to the proportions of people who advocate segregation or who speak in the opposite direction. In the districts having ten to one hundred Negroes, 33 per cent of the comments favored acceptance of

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Negroes, while in the tracts with fewer Negroes the percentage is 25 and in the tracts with larger numbers it is 21. Segregation proposals comprise 61 per cent of all comments in the district having ten to one hundred Negroes against 70 per cent and 79 per cent in those having fewer and more Negroes respectively.

It might be thought that these census tract differences may depend on socio-economic contrasts rather than on the presence of Negro residents. We checked this possibility and found that the differences persist even when comparisons are made separately for people in each of the three socio-economic categories. For example, taking the middle socio-economic group alone, those in tracts that numbered ten to one hundred Negro residents, show 29 per cent favorable to Negroes while the figure in all-white neighborhoods is 16 per cent and in tracts with more than one hundred Negroes it is 17 per cent. Correspondingly, on the unfavorable side the percentages are 51 compared to 56 and 66 respectively. For the high socio-economic people, the contrast is greater (where no Negroes, 18 per cent favorable and 51 per cent unfavorable; where ten to one hundred Negroes, 38 per cent favorable and only 22 per cent unfavorable). At the lower economic level, in districts where no Negroes lived, 64 per cent held negative attitudes with 2 per cent (one person in forty-four) favorable; in districts having ten to one hundred Negroes, 71 per cent were negative, but 25 per cent (six in twenty-four) expressed favorable feelings.

While all these percentages are unstable due to small numbers, they suggest the possibility that contact with Negroes living in the same neighborhood does tend to create more favorable attitudes on the part of white residents. However, other possible interpretations require exploration as well. It could be, for example, that Negroes were totally excluded from those districts in which the most general anti-Negro prejudice prevailed and that our results in other districts reflect the more tolerant attitude that accepted Negroes as neighbors rather than attitudes engendered by their presence. It is also possible that in those neighborhoods with some but not many Negro residents, white families having anti-Negro attitudes have moved out and others with more favorable views have moved in. Certainly additional research is needed to answer such questions.

A further finding that has considerable suggestive importance is this: With the help of persons working in the race relations field in Detroit, we selected ten census tracts in which the Negro population was between ten and one hundred in 1940 but has rapidly increased in the past few

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years. We then analyzed the attitudes of the thirty-nine respondents in our sample who live in these tracts. The distribution of their attitudes remains closely similar to that of the eighty-three respondents in tracts that had ten to one hundred Negro residents in 1940 but where no sharp increase has taken place. A slightly larger percentage express unfavorable feelings (54 per cent versus 45 per cent), but, on the other hand, there is *no decrease* in the percentage favorable to accepting Negroes (31 per cent versus 30 per cent)—and this percentage is markedly greater than that for the white population as a whole.

There is a hint here that within recent years, after favorable attitudes have begun building up in a district having few Negroes, the number of Negro residents may increase without causing a decline in the favorable feelings. Our figures would indicate, however, that some of the whites who have been ambivalent or "in-between" in attitude may become more openly negative. Here, too, it may be that changes in the white population have taken place in these neighborhoods—that old residents have moved out and new ones have moved in. To the extent that this has occurred, the attitudes now measured refer to different people from those living there before the increase of Negro residents. Further research will be required before any clear conclusions can be drawn on this matter.

When comparisons are made among census tracts having different numbers of Negro residents (including those with none) to see how the white population rates the condition of *race relations*, no significant differences are found. However, the ratings of whether race relations are getting better or worse do show differences. Here again the most favorable responses occur in the districts that had ten to one hundred Negroes in 1940 (in these districts 66 per cent say "better"; in the all-white districts it is 54 per cent; in the tracts with more than one hundred Negroes in 1940, the figure is 50 per cent). On these ratings of whether race relations are improving or not, a comparison of the ten census tracts where recent Negro in-migration has been pronounced shows a considerable increase in the belief that race relations are growing worse. In these ten tracts, 54 per cent say "better" and 40 per cent "worse," while in the remaining tracts that had ten to one hundred Negroes in 1940, the opinion is 72 per cent "better" and only 16 per cent "worse."

We again remind the reader that these analyses are suggestive, not at all conclusive. It is hoped that further studies will be conducted to check on the relationships that are here indicated.

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Content of the Responses Concerning Negro-White Relations

The first question that calls for free responses about Negro-white relations asks: "In what ways are these relations not as good as they should be?" (Question 23a) A classification of the ideas expressed by white respondents is given in Table 38.

Table 38

Ways in Which Relations Between Negroes and Whites
Are Considered Not as Good as They Should Be
(White Respondents)

	<i>Percentage of 456 ways named by respondents*</i>
Negroes moving into white neighborhoods	27%
Negro has too many rights and privileges; too much power; too much intermingling	22
Existence of discrimination—in jobs, neighborhoods, schools, etc.	14
Negroes' undesirable characteristics	14
Existence of personal prejudice	9
Tension and misunderstanding between the races	7
Other	7

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 456 comments were given by 380 persons, for 76 of whom two ideas were coded.

The responses of Negroes almost all deal with the existence of discrimination (50 per cent), prejudiced feelings against Negroes (24 per cent), and the condition of tension and misunderstanding (20 per cent).

The first item in the table, complaints about Negroes moving into white neighborhoods, occurs with greatest frequency at the middle socio-economic level (30 per cent there versus 19 per cent at the lower and 22 per cent at the upper level). No significant variation is found between districts with different numbers of Negro residents, nor between persons who rate race relations good as contrasted with those who consider the relations not good.

The second point, which has to do with Negroes having too many liberties, etc., is much more emphasized by the low socio-economic group than by the others (low, 41 per cent; middle, 19 per cent; high, 16 per cent). It is also prominent in the responses of persons who think that

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Negro-white relations are not good (32 per cent of them versus only 10 per cent of those who rate race relations good).

Comments on discrimination, prejudice, and tension are more common at upper economic levels; they total 44 per cent in the high stratum, 31 per cent in the middle and 14 per cent in the low.

Examples of the widely varied comments included in the categories of Table 38 are the following:

Negroes all right in own place. Honestly I prefer the way they handle it down South. They keep to themselves and don't live in your [white] part of town. Let them keep to themselves if you ask me.

I am prejudiced because they're moving into our neighborhood. But they don't bother anybody. They're clean—but everybody resents it.

I believe more tolerance is being shown by whites toward Negroes but again I feel whites are generally alarmed at prospect of a Negro neighborhood.

The Negroes come into a section and the white people won't live with them. They move right away. They won't tolerate even two or three families on the street.

Well, they just seem to be taking over; they seem to be able to get things done the whites couldn't get done. This new playground was built for them.

Colored treat the whites in an insolent way. They think they own the city.

I think the Negroes dislike the white people. I don't know why.

Negro is the underdog and whites kick them around. I don't believe in kicking anybody. There are just as bad whites as Negroes.

Whites get preference over colored in many jobs regardless of qualifications; shows discrimination. Housing is inadequate and colored people are the last to get the better houses.

There is still discrimination in jobs and quarrels among the children at schools—knifing and beating.

Most people are still trying to push [the Negroes'] faces into the ground. They can't live in the same neighborhoods, eat in the same restaurants or anything. They're treated like the scum of the earth.

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Whites and Negroes still don't get along well at all. The Negro is persecuted and discriminated against. Some white people don't even consider them human beings.

If they keep them all in the right place there would not be any trouble. Give them a certain class of job in a factory. Don't let them mix.

It is not the colored Negro who is causing our trouble. It is the nigger. There is a difference here. The nigger is shiftless, lackadaisical, no civic pride.

Whites are too prejudiced against Negroes. That shouldn't be. Some Negroes are better than whites. I can't see mingling with them but we shouldn't have so much prejudice. They should be left alone.

Colored people are born people to wait on you; they just love it.

Eighty per cent of them are like animals.

The relationship is a powder keg. The police show it in their treatment of Negroes.

More favorable comments are also interspersed, though the question asked for ways in which the relationship is *not* good. A few quotations will illustrate the positive ideas:

I think God built them all the same. They should live just like we live.

We got a lot over here; I don't see nothing wrong with them, just people.

The most I know about it comes in a factory—in that you don't know whether you are a Negro or a white.

Should never have been segregated, then there would be no trouble.

Could be better, but better than most cities.

Should be proud of speed in improvement. We've come a long way in this melting pot idea and Detroit has done a good job.

The next free-response item in the set of race relations questions asked the respondent in what ways he thinks the situation is getting better or worse. Again a simple classification of comments portrays the overall nature of the response—as shown in Table 39.

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Table 39

Ways in Which Negro-White Relations Are Thought To Be Getting Better or Worse (White Respondents)

<i>Better</i>	<i>Percentage of 410 ways named by respondents*</i>	
Improved feelings and relations in everyday living—less prejudice and tension	35%	} 58%
Better work relations and job opportunities for Negroes	12	
Less discrimination and better treatment of Negroes (apart from jobs)	8	
Negroes are improving; behaving better	3	
<i>Worse</i>		
Negroes moving into white neighborhoods	13%	} 32%
Negroes have too much freedom, privilege and power; too much intermingling	11	
Negro attitudes changing; becoming aggressive, "forgetting their place," etc.	8	
Other	10%	

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 410 comments were given by 354 persons, for 56 of whom two ideas were coded.

Responses by Negroes differ significantly from those in the table in that the only point they emphasize on the "worse" side pertains to discrimination (16 per cent say this), and on the "better" side they likewise more frequently refer to the decrease in discriminatory practices (22 per cent).

Variations by socio-economic level are similar to those noted for the preceding question. The low status group is much more strongly impressed by what it considers the undue rights and freedom of the Negro. This point occurs in 26 per cent of the responses by the lower group, in 11 per cent by the middle group, and 5 per cent by the upper group. The corresponding complaint that Negroes are becoming self-assertive is a little more frequent in the middle stratum. In general, the lower group gives fewer responses in the "better" direction than do the other two groups (44 per cent altogether by the low stratum, 59 per cent by the middle, and 64 per cent by the upper).

The comments offered in reply to this question do not differ greatly from ones already listed. A few additional quotations will indicate the kinds of specific answers on which Table 39 is based.

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I think people are having to accept them. They're moving in. There's hysteria when a family comes, then everybody calms down and becomes friendly, talks over fences. You can't criticize what they're doing. The neighborhood has improved.

Well, the companies are employing Negroes and then you get to know the Negro and learn how to live with him. They have lifted a lot of restrictions in Detroit by law and the Negro can get to know the whites.

Better: greater appreciation of Negro's problems; experience in living and working with Negroes has eased the tension. Interracial committee has done good education job.

Better: the Negroes are more under control than they have been.

All in all it is getting better. In the Jefferson School it does not seem to make any difference. They seem to mix in o. k. just like they were all white.

Getting better: Negro and whites belonging to the same organizations and unions; workingmen, production line workers, laborers. Industry contributes toward this end by non-discrimination in hiring and placement.

As time goes by I believe conditions will be worse. The whites are resenting being chased, so to speak, from their homes by the Negro. It is not so much a feeling against the race itself as it is unwillingness to mingle.

Pretty soon worse. Be more colored people than white in Detroit because they raise more family.

Worse: more prejudice seems to be creeping in due to the immigrating of Southern Crackers. The Crackers keep the native Negro and whites from getting along.

Better get damned better fast. Seems like calm before the storm. Softer now, less violence. Outwardly people are conforming, inwardly not changed.

The final question on race relations is probably the most revealing of people's true attitudes. It inquires: "What do you yourself feel ought to be done about relations between Negroes and whites in Detroit?" Here again we have classified the main ideas expressed by respondents into a small number of categories. The summary is contained in Table 40.

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Table 40

What Ought to be Done About Relations Between Negroes and Whites in Detroit (White Respondents)

<i>Answers advocating segregation</i>	<i>Percentage of 490 comments by white respondents*</i>	
Segregate Negroes—in general or in their place of residence; "a section of their own," etc.	56%	} 68%
Segregate in work—by jobs or departments	2	
Segregate in other relationships— schools, stores, restaurants, etc.	8	
Keep Negroes from coming to Detroit; send them back South	2	
<i>Answers advocating acceptance of Negroes' education and other improvements</i>		
Education and other efforts to develop understanding and acceptance	13%	} 28%
Improve Negroes' conditions—housing, education, jobs, etc.	11	
Give Negroes equal rights; end segre- gation and discrimination	4	
Other answers	4%	

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 490 comments were given by 416 persons, for 74 of whom two ideas were coded.

This table pictures the state of thinking—or feeling—of the white people of Detroit concerning race relations problems. More than two-thirds of the ideas expressed advocate some form of segregation. A separate analysis not shown in the table reveals that 65 per cent of the white people who gave any answer to the question of what they feel should be done about race relations in Detroit, replied solely by suggesting segregation of one kind or another, and 71 per cent include segregation proposals in their answers. In sharp contrast stand the answers given by others—by 25 per cent of the people and slightly more than that proportion of all the ideas offered. They say the solution lies not in segregation and discrimination but in improving the conditions of Negroes, giving them equal rights, using education and organized efforts to build intergroup understanding and acceptance.

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The Negro respondents speak out most frequently for educational and other social efforts to develop better relations and for eliminating all discrimination. These account for about three-fourths of their replies. Almost all the remaining responses deal with the improvement of Negroes' conditions (8 per cent) or such other answers as that "people should avoid causing trouble," "mind our business," "trust to the Lord," "let the politicians know that the Negroes have rights too."

A list of quoted responses will serve to suggest the concrete content of the answers to this question. Attention is called particularly to a number of the responses that reflect the inner confusion or conflict of values (the "American dilemma") and the ambivalence felt by many respondents on the race issue. These persons seem to feel that their anti-Negro sentiments are not democratic or morally justifiable and yet they cannot dissolve the prejudices built up in them over the years. We have placed several of these responses at the beginning of the following list.

I don't like the colored mixing with the whites—but don't write that down. I don't approve of mixing—maybe I'm prejudiced—but I just feel that way. They shouldn't be completely segregated, but they should have their own neighborhoods.

I myself like them very much, but I wouldn't want to live next to them. Some are wonderful, very intelligent. If a few of them moved here I wouldn't move but I don't want to live amongst them.

Some of my best friends are Negroes—but socially I want nothing to do with them.

Too much strife and prejudice between both groups. All the troubles between these groups stem from prejudice. Think Negroes should be given equal chance. He shouldn't be held down. Jim Crow goes back to dark ages. They should have equal opportunities and decent housing. I like the way they are let into institutions of learning without discrimination. All to the good . . . education will help us whites, too. As we become better educated we will have less prejudice. And we should have less. But I don't want to live next to them. Isn't that funny, after all I've said? I think they should stay in one area.

They have to have a place to live. I think a part of the city should be theirs—built up and just as pleasant as ours. I don't go for that every-other-house business which you hear is their objective. I don't like it. They should have their own schools, their own

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- places to live. They don't have the opportunities we do but I don't know what to do about that.
- Should live in one place—for *their* sake.
- They should have a town of their own, like in Inkster.
- I think they ought to give them a state for themselves and let them have it.
- Send them to Africa. Make a community of their own. Send them back South. Send them.
- Don't give the Negroes so much chance for jobs and education.
- If I had my way, I'd be like I was with the Jews—I ain't saying.
- They should be given a break and let them live where they want to, give them their rights.
- In city like this where Negroes are everywhere and do good work, nobody should grumble.
- Negroes should be educated, not in schools alone, should be taught to live with the situation and think of themselves as being just like other people, instead of keeping a chip on their shoulder. Same goes for whites.
- I don't believe in intermarriage or anything like that, but no one should make any difference as to color. Reason shouldn't be intermarriage: makes it bad on children.
- Children should be taught they are all just the same—should begin in the home.
- Make laws against keeping them out of neighborhoods and restaurants. Let's have some FEPC laws. Teach the kids in school to be more tolerant; teach them when they're young.
- True democracy should be preached in churches, schools and civic organizations.

Summary on Negro-White Relations

The foregoing facts about attitudes on race relations in Detroit underscore the importance and the difficulty of the problem. Here is a section of the city's population, about one person in seven,* toward whose acceptance and integration into the city's life the remainder of the population is deeply disturbed and sharply divided. Approximately one-fourth of the white people seek to foster understanding and to build more cordial race relations on a non-discriminatory and non-segregation basis. Adding in

*This ratio refers to the Detroit metropolitan area; within the city proper, Negroes comprise approximately 16 per cent of the population.

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the Negroes themselves, this means that something like 40 per cent of the population favors a program of race relations improvement based on non-segregation and equal rights.

The remaining part of the population, in one way or another, speaks in favor of segregation. But these people differ greatly among themselves. Many make no attempt to conceal their deep prejudices and their support for outright segregation. The comments of others reveal that, with varying degrees of awareness, they recognize a moral conflict within themselves on this issue and feel insecure in their beliefs. Indications of this are observable, for example, in the expressions of fine friendship for the Negro *but* . . . ; in the insistence that segregation is good for the Negroes themselves; in reiterations of the separate-but-equal doctrine that tries to view segregation as *not* discriminatory. An unknown number of these people are wavering in their attitudes and are doubtless inclined to give uppermost position to one set of values or the other depending on what they feel at any given time to be the views and sanctions of their own groups and their own opinion leaders.

The evidence from our study leaves little possibility for denying that a deep cleavage exists among the people of Detroit in regard to Negro-white relations. Opposed feelings on the issue are manifested in our interviews not only in response to the questions that bear specifically on the subject but in reference to almost every other topic as well. Examples of this have already appeared at various points throughout the report. The response data to be examined in the remaining pages will further underscore the assertion. Whether the discussion is of housing, recreation, the police force, garbage collection, newspapers, or whatever—there are inevitable comments and complaints pertaining to Negroes or the treatment of Negroes.

Our interview findings, we believe, do more than simply emphasize the importance of the problem. They also help define the nature and extent of the attitudes involved and they make at least a little advance toward pointing the directions in which progress may be expected and may be further developed.

As to the importance of the problem, we need merely recall the fact that it and housing were named far more often than any other matters as things Detroit most needs "to do something about." Then, too, existing race relations are placed among the worst of the fourteen aspects of the city's life that were rated and they are mentioned most unfavorably of all topics in people's spontaneous expressions of opinion regarding Detroit.

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To keep the picture in true balance, however, it is recalled, too, that a majority of people judge that Negro-white relations are "fairly good" or "very good" rather than "not good" or "definitely bad." A decided majority, moreover, declare that the relations are improving rather than growing worse.

However, the majority is on the negative side when it comes to accepting Negroes without segregation or discrimination. Well over half of all white Detroiters express themselves as against the acceptance of Negroes as citizens with full and equal rights. Not in those words, of course. What most of them say is simply that they do not want colored people moving into white neighborhoods, eating at white restaurants, intermingling with white people, etc.

It further turns out that these people who are prejudiced—those unfavorable toward accepting Negroes as citizens with equal rights—are much more frequently than others the ones who believe that race relations are bad and are growing worse.

Analysis of the people who tend to hold these unfavorable attitudes and the people who, on the other hand, are more favorable in their views of intergroup developments and more willing to accept Negroes results in some suggestive ideas about the changing course of race relations. Very briefly re-stated, the following conclusions appeared justified:

The *youngest* adults (under twenty-five) are the most frequently in favor of race relations improvements through understanding, non-segregation and equal treatment.

These attitudes are likewise more frequent among people *longer in Detroit* and those born here than among more recent arrivals. The shorter time here, the more unfavorable.

Southerners cannot properly be singled out as having specially unfavorable attitudes. The Southerners who now live in Detroit express no more negative attitudes about Negroes and are no more in favor of segregation than are people from other parts of the country. People who came to Detroit *from abroad*, however, are more willing to accord Negroes their equal rights than are people from within the United States.

The most frequent approval of segregation and the most unfavorable feelings toward full acceptance of Negroes are found among people with *less education* and people at the *lower socio-economic and occupational levels*.

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People having different *religious backgrounds* also show differences here. Catholics are least favorable, on the average, to acceptance of Negroes; Protestants somewhat more favorable; "all others" (Jews, persons saying "no church preference," Greek Orthodox, etc.) are decidedly most favorable.

Attitudes tend to be more favorable toward acceptance of Negroes in those *districts that have a small number of Negro residents* than in either the district with no Negroes or those with larger numbers of Negroes. The districts with a small number of Negroes also express the opinion more commonly than the others that Negro-white relations are getting better.

Finally, there is a little evidence to suggest that in districts that had a small number of Negroes in 1940 but *where the Negro population has increased* considerably during very recent years, the following two results have occurred: (1) A slight increase in the number of white people who express unfavorable attitudes toward accepting Negroes and an increase in the belief that relations are growing worse; (2) *no decline* in the number of people who are favorable to a policy of understanding and non-segregation. In other words, it looks as if persons in these districts who have been wavering or "in between" in attitude may become openly negative when more Negroes move in, but those who had built up accepting attitudes when a small number of Negroes lived there, now continue to hold these attitudes when the Negro population increases. On the other hand, the results may be due to changes in the composition of the white population as some people move out of the district and others move in. While our findings are suggestive on this point, their meaning needs to be established by means of thorough studies directed to this specific problem.

The function of this survey is to explore and describe attitudes, not to tell how they should be changed or how they can be changed. It may be permissible, however, to say simply that we believe the foregoing list of conclusions, supported by the evidence in preceding pages, offers useful suggestions for better understanding Negro-white relations in Detroit and for program planning by organizations and leaders interested in the long-run improvement of race relations.

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Attitudes in Regard to City Government and City Services

The most general question here inquired simply: "What do you think about the Detroit city government?" (Question 24). The ratings in response to this question place the city government about halfway between the topmost and lowest rated aspects of the city in the estimation of Detroit people. A somewhat larger number think it "very good" than "not good" or worse. The ratings run as follows:

Very good	26%
Fairly good	58
Not good	11
Definitely bad	5

The city government is ranked fifth among the matters people judge it is most important for Detroit to do something about. More than one-fourth of the respondents (28 per cent) include it among the three most urgent problems.

These opinions of local government differ little by subdivisions of the population. The variations are not significantly large between men and women, socio-economic strata, or groups having greater or less amounts of education.

Negroes give slightly more unfavorable ratings than do white respondents (24 per cent "not good" or worse versus 15 per cent by whites), but a more striking difference appears within the Negro group itself. Although the numbers are small (fifty-eight persons in the following comparisons), the contrast is significant and suggestive. It is this: Negroes at a low economic level are unusually *favorable* to the city hall; those who are better off (in the middle socio-economic stratum) are even more markedly *unfavorable*. In the low group, 43 per cent rate the city government "very good" and only 11 per cent rate it "not good" or worse; in the higher group, 17 per cent say "very good" while 37 per cent say "not good" or worse. While the data of our survey do not provide support for any particular interpretation of this result, it is a point that well merits more intensive study.

When people were asked to specify the ways in which the city's government is not all it should be, they returned the answers summarized in Table 41. More than half the respondents were unable or unwilling to state any particular criticism, even though many of them rated the government in the unsatisfactory direction.

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Table 41

Ways in Which Detroit's City Government Is Considered Not as Good as It Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 316 ways named by respondents*</i>
Inefficiency; incompetent men in office; poor services, etc. (omitting references to DSR)	35%
Criticisms of DSR	17
Graft, corruption (omitting DSR)	15
Caters to special groups and influences	10
Taxes too high	5
Friction between branches and departments of government; not pull together	4
Need electoral and other political reforms (civil service; give people more to say, etc.)	3
Not enough pay for city employees— in general or special groups	2
Other	9

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 316 comments were contributed by 266 persons, for 50 of whom two ideas were coded.

The people who do offer critical comments direct these chiefly against alleged inefficiency and incompetence, corruption, and serving of special interests instead of the people as a whole. These, together with complaints about DSR, account for three-fourths of all the faults people name. The lower socio-economic group mentions graft and criticisms of DSR more than others do; they point less than others to incompetence and to serving special interests. No significant differences are found between the middle and upper economic groups.

Examples of the criticisms summarized in Table 41 follow:

The leadership is bad. There seems to be a dictator form of government instead of a democratic form as they all pretend it is.

There are too many office holders; we could get along with half that many.

There are places where expenses could be cut.

Welfare badly administered.

We don't have competent department heads. I don't think these men are trained for their jobs.

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More educated men should run for offices. Too many get in that we don't know much about; people often don't know who they are voting for.

Don't think government puts their foot down: lax regarding Negro situation; haven't cleaned up downtown area: streets are broken and left that way; too many taverns—lots of things could be cleaned up.

Too much dilly-dallying; take too much time to settle any disputes or come to any decision. Have a Council that is dead on their feet. Mayor is good but he can't do it all. Should consider the needs of the people instead of their own advantages.

Oh it's rotten all the way through. If I could work for that mayor I wouldn't. He is just in there to get rich. . . . He's bad all the way through.

Heads of the government don't think of the welfare of the masses. They help management and that's where so much graft comes from.

Too much graft in all departments.

I think the city government is rotten. It's the worst ever I saw. Take the street car company for one. It's never been out of the red. Should straighten out what they are going to do with DSR.

Look at these strikes now [DSR]; they should compromise, not let it go so far. Could have settled it in a week.

The mayor is run by big business and is anti-labor.

Wherever there are politicians, they must cater to certain sections of the city for votes; some are afraid to alienate labor or church groups. Very few public men who have guts to express their own opinions.

The taxes we pay are terrible. If that money was used for what it should be, it would be better.

The city government seems to be not in accord, one department with the other, or the council with the mayor. Everyone seems to be pulling apart, not together for the good of the city residents.

Prefer city manager plan, have much more control over city government. What's good for one area is not good for another.

A lot of divisions such as the police force ought to get raises, make enough money so we don't have so much corruption. I happen to know what those guys make and I don't see how they live on it.

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I think more city employees could take their jobs a little more seriously. Maybe if they were paid better they would.

An additional question concerning the city government brings out a fact of some importance. The question reads: "Do you feel that there is anything you can do to improve the way the city is run?" (Question 24b). (This is followed by: "What do you feel you can do?") The aim of the question was to see how far people feel personal responsibility for better government and how far they feel helpless or apathetic. As shown in Table 42, half of the people throw up their hands, saying there is nothing they can do. About one-third mention voting. Only one person in twenty-five suggests participation in group efforts and organized action as ways he can be effective.

Table 42
Things People Feel They Can Do to Improve
the City Government

	<i>Percentage of 575 ideas expressed*</i>
Nothing I can do	49%
Vote	33
Be a better citizen (obey laws, bring up children right, etc.)	9
"Holler louder"; voice criticisms	4
Join in group action; work through organizations; petitions, etc.	4
Other	1

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 575 ideas were given by 535 persons, for 40 of whom two ideas were coded. Thus, while the "nothing I can do" response represents 49 per cent of the *ideas* expressed, it is the answer given by 52 per cent of the persons who reply.

The following few examples illustrate the ideas volunteered in response to this question—first for the answers saying there is nothing the individual can do and then for some of the other replies:

Definitely I know of nothing I could do.

No, what could I do?

No, I could tell them but they'd call me a crazy fool and kick me out.

Nothing I can do; city is too badly run down. There's no hope in this city. I know the preachers say there's always hope for sinners, but Detroit—the whole state of Michigan—is too far gone.

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Oh, my goodness, woman, no.

What can I do?—Nothing!

Not me. I know that!

Me? No, I don't think so.

Get out and vote and study each candidate thoroughly before we vote.

All newspapers should print a complete background of the politicians.

The only thing I can do is use the paper as a basis for voting.

I can vote and scare them a little bit. A good man can't win an office but if he piles up enough votes the ones that get in will be more careful of what they do.

Being a good citizen myself and teaching my children to be so, too.

I could sponsor neighborhood clubs for cleanliness and beauty and offer suggestions to the city council.

By working together with other people in the city.

Can't do much as an individual. Can organize in groups to throw your weight around.

By belonging to PTA, Home Association and like. One can then have some voice in matters of the city.

Run for office myself.

I wish I could. But what can I do, mother with seven children, always washing and cooking and cleaning and ironing.

I could if I had a chance. Little people like me don't get a chance.

Significant differences in the responses classified in Table 42 are found between men and women, age groups, socio-economic strata and educational levels.

The "nothing I can do" answer is given more often by women than by men (53 per cent versus 43 per cent), and more often by older people than younger (40 per cent by those under thirty-five; 48 per cent by those between thirty-five and fifty-five; 62 per cent by those fifty-five and older). This answer was also much more common among people of lower socio-economic status and less schooling than in the higher income and better educated groups.

By economic groups, the percentages in the "nothing I can do" category run:

Low	67%
Middle	50
High	28

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By amounts of schooling, even greater differences occur:

Less than eighth grade	80%
Eighth grade	64
Ninth to twelfth grade	42
Above high school	26

Differences among occupational groups are consistent with the above percentages. The largest proportion of "nothing I can do" responses occurs among semi-skilled and unskilled workers, while the lowest proportion is found among professional and upper white collar people.

An unexpected result is this: membership in organizations bears no consistent relationship to people's feelings that they can do anything to improve the city. Among those who belong to one or more organizations, approximately the same percentage say they can do nothing as is true of those who are not members of any organization. At the top socio-economic level, however, members of two or more organizations are a little less frequently in the "nothing I can do" group. In the low socio-economic class the opposite tendency appears, with slightly fewer responses of this kind among individuals who belong to no organization. (These differences are not great enough to be accepted as established; they are approximately at the 90 per cent "level of significance.")

In view of labor unions' efforts in Detroit to educate and arouse their members in regard to political action, it is particularly interesting to discover that union members say there is nothing they can do just as often as do non-union people at the same occupational level. Among manual workers, 55 per cent of union members and 57 per cent of non-members answer in this way. Inclusion of lower white collar occupations leaves the comparison substantially the same. In the manual occupations, CIO union members give the helpless or pessimistic type answer a trifle more frequently even than do other unionists (58 per cent versus 45 per cent)—though the difference is too small to be accepted with confidence.

Among other responses to the question of what people feel they can do to improve the way the city is run, a few of the significant group differences are these: Young people more often mention the use of their votes—38 per cent of the responses by people under thirty-five years of age as against 27 per cent by those over fifty-five (and 32 per cent for the group between). Voting is also much more stressed by the better educated—by 41 per cent of those who went beyond high school as contrasted with 15 per cent of those with less than eight grades of school. A similar contrast occurs between socio-economic groups.

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The educational groups show larger differences than any others in the amount of mention given to organized group procedures to improve the city, though even among the best educated only one response in eleven points to this as a way of accomplishing anything. The percentages run as follows: eighth grade or less, 2 per cent; ninth to twelfth grade, 3 per cent; beyond twelfth grade, 9 per cent.

All in all, people's replies to the question of what they can do to improve the way their city is run reveal rather widespread feelings of apathy and non-participation together with quite restricted conceptions of the citizen's role. It is not unlikely that what we find here is typical of present-day urban communities generally.

Some grounds for optimism may be found in the fact that the younger and better educated citizens display more positive spirit in this connection. At the same time it seems clear that Detroit, along with other communities, is confronted with a challenging problem of building in the ordinary citizen the conviction that this is *his* city and that its improvement is his responsibility. The almost negligible amount of reference people make to what they can do by working with and through organizations suggests that a major part of the task ahead may be the more successful involvement of the citizen as an actively participating member of organized and civic-minded groups.

The DSR

We turn now to several of the city's services about which separate questions were asked. We begin with the DSR, the municipal transportation system.

The first part of the question asked the respondent to rate "the bus and streetcar system (DSR)" (Question 25). As we reported earlier, the DSR stands at the foot of the list among the fourteen Detroit activities that were rated. It receives definitely poorer ratings than any other item. It and the handling of housing needs are the only matters on which over half the people give a negative evaluation. The ratings of the DSR are as follows:

Very good	12%
Fairly good	36
Not good	26
Definitely bad	26

The DSR also ranks high among the problems about which Detroit people think it important to do something. While housing and race rela-

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tions are considered of greatest importance by much larger percentages than the DSR, it nevertheless is clearly placed third among the matters that need attention. It is judged the most urgent problem by 10 per cent of Detroit people and it is included in the three most important problems by 32 per cent.

Men and women do not differ significantly in their estimates of the DSR, nor do Negroes and whites. The low socio-economic group gives slightly more favorable ratings than the others; the middle group assigns the poorest ratings (22 per cent of the low group say "very good" while only 8 per cent of the middle group and 15 per cent of the upper group do so; 46 per cent of the low group rate the DSR "not good" or worse as compared to 55 per cent of the middle group and 51 per cent of the high group).

A somewhat larger proportion of men than women consider the DSR an important problem to do something about (37 per cent versus 28 per cent include it in their three top problems). White people, more than Negroes, place it among the city's important problems (34 per cent versus 20 per cent naming it among the top problems). Finally, high and middle economic groups think it important more frequently than does the lower group (39 per cent, 34 per cent and 17 per cent respectively).

Table 43 summarizes the responses to the question asking in what ways the DSR is not satisfactory.

Table 43
Ways in Which the DSR Is Considered
Not as Good as It Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 658 ways named by respondents*</i>
Poor service; poor scheduling (irregular, infrequent, slow, etc.)	34%
Fare too high	13
Overcrowding; not enough buses and streetcars	12
Inefficient administration	8
Drivers inefficient, discourteous, etc.	7
Condition of buses poor; old, uncomfortable, poor maintenance, etc.	7
Should be under private ownership	7
Other (including the then current strike)	12

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 658 comments were given by 450 persons, for 208 of whom two ideas were coded.

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When criticisms are analyzed by economic groups, two or three suggestive findings appear. Overcrowding is more emphasized by the low-socio-economic group (19 per cent mention it while only 6 per cent of the high status people and 12 per cent of those in the middle stratum do so). People at the upper economic level speak more of the poor condition of buses (12 per cent versus 7 and 4 per cent in the other two groups). And finally, the high group refers more to poor administration and to the desirability of private ownership (these two categories account for 20 per cent of their replies, 14 per cent of those at the middle level, and 11 per cent by the lower economic group).

Examples of the criticisms people offer are the following:

Worse than bad. Wait all day and then you can't get a seat. Give a driver a quarter for change and you'd think he feels insulted.

More buses and street cars should be put on during the bad weather.

Night service very poor.

Not enough through service.

And service is generally poor in most Negro areas.

For the price we pay, we should have better service—more regular, more lines.

The worst in the country.

Slow, that is the big problem. You have to start off in plenty of time to go anywhere.

Too much transferring, the lines are not long enough.

Always bad, no subways, the city is too big for just the DSR and the streets are not built for automobile traffic. The busses are always crowded and slow.

The streetcar system really covers the town; the cars are crowded and uncomfortable to ride, but if you don't care about comfort you can get there.

No rapid transit. Should be put on a pay basis of zones, the farther you go, the more it costs.

Price too high; poor management; system is always in the red.

They should take it out of politics and have it run by the people who know how to run it. As far as service is concerned, people don't understand what the problems of the drivers, the mechanics, the manpower, etc., are. For instance, if the streets were better, the buses would run faster.

They'd better change ownership and improve the situation here.

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Also take the railroad crossings and put them overhead; they should never be in the city.

Could keep buses cleaner.

I wish we could get away from the gas and exhaust fumes.

Automobile Traffic and Parking

Next to be considered among the activities of the city government is its dealing with automobile traffic and parking (Question 28). The people of Detroit rate the city's handling of traffic and parking just below the average of all fourteen activities considered. It is rated a little lower than the city government as a whole. One-third of the respondents give ratings of "not good" and "definitely bad." The full tabulation of estimates shows the following distribution:

Very good	26%
Fairly good	41
Not good	18
Definitely bad	15

The city's handling of traffic and parking is placed in the upper half of problems people think it important to do something about—sixth among the fourteen items. Slightly more than one-fourth of the respondents (27 per cent) include it in their selection of the three most important matters calling for attention.

Men rate the traffic and parking situation a little worse than women do (37 per cent of men and 29 per cent of women give the "not good" or "definitely bad" rating). A larger number of men than women also consider the problem an important one (33 per cent of men as against 22 per cent of women place it among the three most urgent matters).

Although Negroes and whites do not differ significantly in their ratings of traffic and parking, these problems are more frequently judged to be among the most important by the white respondents (29 per cent of whites and 10 per cent of Negroes include this problem in the three most important).

The handling of traffic and parking is rated worst by the upper economic group and best by the lowest economic group. The percentages of negative ratings at the three socio-economic levels are as follows: upper, 40 per cent; middle, 34 per cent; lower, 24 per cent. In line with these ratings, the three groups attach quite different degrees of importance to the problem of traffic and parking (36 per cent of the top group include

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it in the three most important problems; 29 per cent of the middle level people and only 13 per cent of the lower level do so).

Table 44 summarizes the responses people gave when they were asked to tell the ways in which traffic and parking are not being handled satisfactorily. The comments pertain in about equal numbers to traffic and to parking. Additional parking facilities and means for expediting the movement of traffic are the two main ideas that came up in a variety of specific forms.

Table 44
Ways in Which It Is Thought That Traffic and Parking
Are Not Being Handled as Well as They Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 479 ways named by respondents*</i>
Lack of sufficient parking space; need for more lots, underground parking, etc.	42%
Need for expressways and wider streets	13
Inadequate traffic controls (signal system, poor handling by police, etc.)	12
Need re-routing; not enough one-way streets; excess on main streets, etc.	7
Street parking that interferes with traffic	7
Too high rates for private parking	5
Other	14

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 479 comments were given by 353 persons, for 126 of whom two ideas were coded.

The only differences to be noted between economic classes are these: a tendency for more of the high group to complain of high parking charges (9 per cent of them and none of the low group); slightly greater mention by the high group of the need for expressways and wider streets (17 per cent versus 12 per cent by the middle and lower groups); more annoyance in the low group with parking that interferes with traffic (13 per cent versus 7 per cent in the middle group and 3 per cent in the upper group).

Examples of the comments offered in reply to this question—at times quite conflicting answers—are the following:

More lots for parking in busy neighborhoods to take the cars off the streets.

More parking lots downtown; also cheaper parking in the lots already there.

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Complete lack of public parking facilities in downtown area. Every new store should be compelled to provide parking facilities.

Need parking system restricted to outlying area; take bus into heart of city.

Should have plenty of parking meters. Need more parking lots and buildings downtown. Manufacturers should be forced to have adequate parking space around the factory. Eliminate a lot of parking on busy and one-way streets. Have more one-way streets. Residential parking on one side only.

Need more meters—they help a lot.

There is a heap of cars here and that makes a heap of traffic and parking. I don't think they can do no better.

Just like a family living in a five-room house with an addition every year and not doing anything about it.

Too confusing on Grand River; change system too often.

Police should clamp down on some of these crazy drivers and illegal parking.

I think we'd all agree that we need more one-way streets, more off-the-street parking, and more control over left-turns.

Too many restrictions on turning; too many one-way streets; need fewer parking meters.

Garbage Collection and Street Cleaning

The next question asked about "city services like garbage collection and street cleaning" (Question 29). It would have been better to inquire separately concerning these two services, but, in the interests of keeping the interview within reasonable limits, they were combined. Since it turns out that they are about equally often referred to in the comments volunteered by respondents, we can assume that the ratings, too, pertain to the two in more or less like degree.

Garbage and street cleaning services are rated fourth to lowest of the fourteen activities discussed in the interview. Only the DSR, the handling of housing needs, and race relations are considered worse. The ratings run as follows:

Very good	27%
Fairly good	34
Not good	20
Definitely bad	19

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These services are also rated high among the matters concerning which people think something needs to be done. Approximately three persons in ten (29 per cent) include this item among the three most urgent matters calling for action. This ranks it fourth in importance among the fourteen problems covered in the interview.

Men and women agree completely in their opinions on this item. Greater than average dissatisfaction and concern are manifested by people who live in poor neighborhoods—and particularly by Negroes.

In the low socio-economic group, 48 per cent rate garbage collection and street cleaning "not good" or "definitely bad" (compared to 37 per cent of the middle and upper economic groups). The improvement of these services is considered most important (in the three most important, that is) by 36 per cent at the low economic level, by 21 per cent at the high level and by 30 per cent in the middle stratum.

There is much more dissatisfaction with garbage and street cleaning services among Negroes than among whites. Negative evaluations are given by 55 per cent of Negroes as contrasted with 37 per cent of the white population. The extremely unfavorable rating ("definitely bad") is given by 32 per cent of Negroes and by 17 per cent of whites. The low ratings by Negroes are not due merely to their economic position; they rate these city services considerably lower than do white people at the same socio-economic levels. Thus, in the middle economic stratum, 48 per cent of Negroes and 36 per cent of whites express negative appraisals; at the lower economic level such ratings are given by 62 per cent of Negroes and 42 per cent of whites.

When all respondents, white and Negro, are classified into five groups by the average rental rates of the districts in which they live, we find that those in the poorer neighborhoods rate garbage collection and street cleaning decidedly lower. The percentages of "not good" ratings and worse are as follows:

High rent district	29%
Rather high	33
Medium rents	45
Rather low	48
Lowest rent districts	50

An analysis of the criticisms directed against garbage collection and street cleaning adds little to the picture provided by the ratings themselves. The comments fall into the few main categories listed in Table 45.

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These complaints divide fairly evenly between references to garbage and to the condition of streets and alleys, though slightly more than half pertain to garbage collection.

Table 45

Ways in Which Garbage Collection and Street Cleaning Are Considered Not as Good as They Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 521 ways named by respondents*</i>
Infrequent and irregular garbage collection	47%
Poor garbage collection (careless, etc.)	5
Infrequent and irregular street cleaning	40
Discrimination in services (in respect to race and/or economic level)	4
Other	4

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 521 comments were given by 354 persons, for 167 of whom two ideas were coded.

No significant differences occur in the relative frequency of the criticisms as between men and women and as between socio-economic levels. Negroes comment proportionately more about garbage collection and less about street cleaning than do whites—and they more often charge discrimination in these services. Negroes direct 16 per cent of their comments to discrimination as compared to 3 per cent by whites.

A number of responses to this question are heated and vehement. Some of these, along with milder statements, are illustrated in the following quotations:

They only collect garbage about every four months. We've got rats as big as cats. Look at our alleys. There are flies and bugs which cause infantile paralysis.

Could clean streets more often. When it rains, the sewers get all stuffed up. The garbage situation here is *terrible*. In Germany the city came every little while and killed rats. But here, the rats run over our porch, and even go up to the fourth floor. It's terrible in this block. They have *got* to collect garbage at least once a week. Cans get so full it spreads all over alley. Smells. Flies. Rats are like dogs. I would like to get out in parks more often—get away from the rats. They come across our porch here and my landlady does everything she can to keep this place so clean. I can't sit on my porch because of rats.

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City should install garbage disposal units in each residence. Need men to cut weeds on vacant lots and on streets.

They don't collect garbage as often as they should. You often see containers running over with garbage.

The people should be made to take better care of their own trash; clean up the alleys behind their own homes. The city does the best they can about it.

Neither the garbage collectors or street cleaners get around as often as they should. I see a street cleaner about every six months and a garbage collector from thirty days to six weeks.

They are not regular in their garbage collecting or the street cleaning. We don't have any politicians living around here, I guess that's why.

They come along and ruin your receptacles and then the inspector comes around and tells you to buy new ones and they're expensive.

They never clean our streets.

I forgot they even cleaned the streets.

Winter time is worst; not fast enough in removing snow and ice.

Police Department

The last of the city governmental services which we asked about specifically is the Police Department (Question 30). The city's population as a whole rates the Police Department very favorably. The ratings place it above the city government in general, ranking it sixth (practically tied for fifth place) among the fourteen activities dealt with in the interview.

The percentages giving each of the four ratings are these:

Very good	48%
Fairly good	40
Not good	6
Definitely bad	6

In line with the small number of negative ratings, few people consider the Police Department one of the important matters for Detroit to do something about. Six per cent of our respondents include it among the three problems most in need of attention.

This generally favorable picture of the Police Department undergoes a drastic change when seen through the eyes of the Negro population.

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Only 11 per cent of Negroes evaluate it as "very good" as against 42 per cent who rate it "not good" or "definitely bad"—and three-fourths of these 42 per cent give the "bad" rating (31 per cent of all Negroes). Only the handling of housing and of garbage collection and street cleaning are rated worse by Negroes.

Negroes' dissatisfaction and concern over police activities in Detroit is also reflected in their designation of it among the city's most important problems. Twenty-one per cent of Negroes and only 4 per cent of whites include the Police Department as one of the three most important matters that needs attention in the city.

Apart from the contrasting attitudes of Negroes and whites, no significant variations are discovered in opinions of the police force from one socio-economic group to another. Nor do men and women differ.

The nature of the Negro reactions becomes evident when we ask in what ways the Police Department is not what it should be. First, we summarize in Table 46 the ideas volunteered by the population as a whole in answer to this question asking for their criticisms of the Detroit Police Department. It is seen that for people in general the outstanding critical comments have to do with the inefficiency of the police force. Not a few persons also charge corruption and graft and unjustifiable behavior of the police in dealing with citizens.

Table 46
Ways in Which the Police Department Is Considered
Not as Good as It Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 305 ways named by respondents*</i>
Inefficient; don't do job well	28%
Not enough policemen	26
Graft, corruption, dishonesty	16
Mistreat people; overbearing, etc.	13
Discrimination against Negroes; race prejudice	7
Other	10

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 305 comments were given by 260 persons, for 45 of whom two ideas were coded.

This last criticism is a frequent one by Negroes as is also the charge of racial discrimination. In fact, nearly two-thirds of the answers by Negroes (64 per cent) deal with these two matters—38 per cent on discrimination and 26 per cent on mistreatment. These criticisms are made

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about equally often by Negroes at the lower and at the middle economic levels.

Examples of comments along these lines by Negro respondents are the following:

Most policemen are Negro haters, and, too, most of them seem to be ignorant. They act as though they need more training.

Police in Detroit are rotten. They stink. They don't give the Negro a chance.

They are too prejudiced. All Negroes look alike to them; can't tell a good Negro from a bad one.

The Police Department here has too many Negro haters. They should find out about the men before they give them that responsible job.

They got too many policemen that shoot and say "Halt" afterwards. The police shouldn't be so quick to shoot and to go into homes and wreck them as they do some Negro homes.

When it comes to carrying out their duties the police will perform them to the best of their ability till a Negro is involved. The force don't go all out to help Negroes.

The police are nasty. They are mean to Negroes. They don't treat Negroes as fair as they treat white.

It's bad. They don't know how to treat people. They take unfair advantage of Negro suspects.

Other comments by the general run of respondents fall into the various categories of Table 46. These are illustrated in the list below:

Where a policeman should be in an emergency there isn't any—that's all.

I think some policemen are scared of their self. Sometimes call police and they scared to go bad places. I don't know what's the matter.

Too many prowlers. Police don't offer sufficient protection. Don't do anything unless you put up a fight. I'm afraid to go anywhere at night. Not cooperative at all. We pay them to help but you have to beg for help. They sit around the station and talk.

Allow an awful lot of disturbance and noise. They'll come if you call them but they don't patrol these streets much.

A lot of police officers give tickets indiscriminately, when there is no justification for it.

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Police have too much to do for the amount of men to do it; more police need to be hired.

People get away with a lot in traffic. They don't have enough policemen on the road to catch all those.

Should be more foot patrolmen, especially in rough neighborhoods. Too easy for thieves to time patrol cars, but not as easy to avoid men on foot.

Too much scandal within the department. Should be cleaned up and any officer found crooked, should be ousted, no matter who he is.

Too many officers who do too little; too many days off. Too many promotions for wrong men, not on their ability. Too much graft; detectives getting everything wholesale; always having an angle and boasting of it.

Could take a lot of improvement. Some of the policemen are just as crooked as some of the others [the gamblers]. Some policemen get a cut to keep their mouths shut.

Too much graft; gives the whole force a bad name.

It's mostly a racket. If you do something wrong you can bribe them. But as far as protection, they do a good job.

Awful—rude, ill mannered, a lot of them are psychopathic; and the biggest crooks are on the police force.

They go too far in their superiority. If you get a ticket and go to the police station, they take all your money and you can't do anything about it. They're not honest. And if there is a robbery, like there was a robbery twice in my husband's station, where he works, they don't seem to care. They don't do anything.

Not considerate of the public. They think you know nothing and they know it all. They don't give you a chance to talk any time you talk to them. They run it in their own bull-headed way.

I don't think the city takes enough time in selecting policemen. The city will hire anyone whether his moral character is all right or whether it isn't. That is bad.

Of course I think they're underpaid. Compared to other industries, they don't get enough.

In concluding this section of the report on attitudes toward the city government and several municipal services, we may briefly summarize as follows:

People's overall impressions of Detroit's government are fairly favorable. Only one person in six rates it in a negative direction. Numerous

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criticisms are expressed, however, especially concerning inefficiency and corruption, and more than one-fourth of the people believe that the city's government is one of the three most important matters in Detroit to do something about. The Negro population above the lowest economic level tends to be more unfavorable than any other group studied. The remainder of the population differ little from one group to another.

Opinions of the Police Department are more favorable than those of the city government as a whole. Only one person in eight rates the police services in the "not good" direction and half the people rate it "very good." These high estimates are definitely not shared by the Negro population. Two of every five Negroes rate the police "not good" or "definitely bad." Two-thirds of the Negroes' criticisms refer to anti-Negro discrimination or the mistreatment of people. Other serious criticisms are offered by a substantial number of white people.

The general run of Detroiters express much more dissatisfaction and concern over other city services—the DSR system, the automobile traffic and parking situation, and the handling of garbage collection and street cleaning. These services are all rated rather low, the DSR lowest of the entire list of items considered in the survey. The unfavorable attitudes exist at all socio-economic levels, among both men and women, and for both Negroes and whites.

While many negative feelings are found all through the population, some groups are significantly above or below average in their estimates. With respect both to the DSR and to traffic-parking problems, the poor economic group is more favorable and manifests less concern than people at the middle and upper economic levels. The reverse is true in regard to garbage and street cleaning services. On these the lower economic group is more negatively critical and more convinced that remedial action is needed. Dissatisfaction is particularly in evidence among Negroes.

In view of the considerable amount of critical comment by our respondents in regard to various aspects of the city government, it is especially interesting to note how many people say there is *nothing* that they personally can do to make matters better. When asked whether there is anything they can do to improve the way the city is run, half the people declare they can do nothing. One third speak only of voting. Only one person in twelve mentions that he can exert influence either by means of personal criticisms ("holler louder") or through participation in groups and organizations.

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The indifferent or helpless types of reply are much more common at low educational and low economic and occupational levels than at higher levels. They likewise occur more among women than men and more among older than younger people. The more positive feeling for civic participation among the younger and better educated citizens points to a possible constructive interpretation of the results. But the findings, in any event, present an important challenge to the city—the challenge of creating in citizens generally the conviction that Detroit is *their* city and that each person shares the responsibility and the power to participate effectively with others to improve the way the city is run.

Attitudes Concerning Industry, Labor Unions and Labor-Management Relations

Earlier in this report we summarized the extremely favorable attitudes that exist toward work opportunities in Detroit and the high degree of job satisfaction. We cannot assume, of course, that this same positive feeling spreads to all aspects of industry, labor, and industrial relations. Accordingly, in the second half of the interview we inquired specifically into respondents' attitudes toward labor unions, industrial companies, and labor-management relations. We shall now report the responses to these questions.

Industrial Companies

Let us begin with the industrial companies.

First, a simple four-point rating was obtained in answer to the question: "How do you feel about industrial companies in Detroit—in their relations to the city and the people of the city? (Question 21). The ratings place the companies among the few most favorably regarded activities and institutions of the city (see Table 27).

The distribution of ratings of industrial companies is as follows:*

*All the questions on industrial companies are matched by parallel ones in regard to labor unions. (Questions 21 and 22; see Appendix A.) In half the interviews the questions about companies were asked first; in the other half those about unions came first. A comparison of the quantitative ratings has been made to detect whether the order of the questions significantly affects the responses. A very slight tendency is found for the ratings to become more favorable when either institution, company or union, is rated after the other has been asked about. The companies, when they come second, receive more "very good" ratings (51 per cent versus 42 per cent) and unions, when second, receive fewer "not good" and "definitely bad" ratings (21 per cent versus 29 per cent). However, there is not an increase in the "very good" ratings of unions. When unions are rated after the companies, there is also an indication that slightly more respondents refrain from rating (15 per cent versus 10 per cent). While none of the differences are large enough to assume great importance, they do indicate the wisdom of asking questions like these in counter-balanced order as was done here, in order that the position effect will be averaged out.

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Very good	47%
Fairly good	49
Not good	3
Definitely bad	1

None of the subdivisions of the population by economic status and by education depart greatly from these highly favorable ratings. The only group differences of significant size are these: The younger half of the population is a little less favorable than the older half (under forty-five years of age, 42 per cent say "very good"; over forty-five the proportion is 53 per cent). By occupational groups, skilled workers are least favorable (37 per cent "very good") while executives, professional, and white collar people are most favorable, all responding about 55 per cent "very good." Semi-skilled and unskilled workers are also quite favorable, with 50 per cent answering "very good." Labor union members give ratings only a trifle lower than do others (43 per cent "very good" and 48 per cent "fairly good"). Among CIO unionists, one in nine rates the companies "not good" or "definitely bad"; outside of this group the ratio is approximately one person in fifty.

When people were asked to tell us in what ways the companies do good, their replies dealt chiefly, as would be expected, with industry's economic contribution. Table 47 shows the distribution of answers, while the list of quoted comments that follows will suggest the concrete content of the responses.

Table 47
Ways in Which Industrial Companies
Are Believed to Do Good

	<i>Percentage of 598 ways named by respondents*</i>
Production, employment, wages and other economic contributions	68%
Contributions to community improvement (buildings, cultural enterprises, etc.)	13
Donations for charitable purposes	12
Other	7

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 598 comments were given by 489 persons, for 109 of whom two ideas were coded.

Interesting variations occur by economic levels in the relative amount of emphasis placed on community services and charity as compared to the direct economic contribution. In the high socio-economic status group

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36 per cent of the comments pertain to the non-economic contributions; in the middle group, 24 per cent; at the lower level, 10 per cent.

Examples of comments on how industrial companies do good are these:

They're doing their utmost as far as production goes—to produce as much as possible to make this a better city.

They are manufacturing a lot of needed goods.

They are the sole support for our people and they are still progressing and we can't get along without them.

They pay a lot of taxes. Detroit wouldn't exist without the industries. How would the people live? But I think they do good inadvertently: they don't pay any more taxes than they have to; they're in business to make profit. They do good inadvertently and not because they love the city.

Detroit companies are best in the country. Auto companies have to cater to everybody and have to treat everybody square in order to sell cars to everybody, especially the poor man.

Always donate very generously to drives; gives city aid at all times. Sometimes they give a couple thousand dollars for charity.

Most have personal interest in their employees, having pension plans and good benefits.

Brought a lot of people in from out of town and city gaining by it. Nice looking plants, landscapes. Make city look nice.

We next asked respondents if there are ways they think industrial companies do harm and what things the companies do that they should not do. It is significant that 46 per cent of respondents either had no answer to the question about industrial companies doing harm or they said the companies do no harm. These "no harm" answers occur about equally often in all three socio-economic groups. A considerable number of persons added remarks that indicated surprise at the very thought (How could they do harm?). A few of these responses that indicate there is no way the companies do harm are the following:

Oh, no! They do no harm, by all means. They help create work and that's the main thing.

No, not generally; possibly a few small companies take advantage of their people, but not the large ones.

I'm well satisfied as long as they give me work. Don't know what harm they could do.

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How can anything which provides a livelihood for people be harmful?

The other answers refer to a wide variety of specific criticisms of industry. For convenience they can be rather simply classified as shown in Table 48.

Table 48
Ways in Which Industrial Companies
Are Believed to Do Harm

	<i>Percentage of 409 ways named by respondents*</i>
Relations with employees and unions	40%
Bad working conditions, layoffs, overwork, poor wages	20%
Hiring policies; hire outsiders, women, Negroes, deprive Detroiters of jobs	10
Discriminate against Negroes	7
Fight against unions; not cooperate with labor	3
Dirty and ugly; smoke; water pollution; spoils residential areas, etc.	38
Economic criticisms other than wages (charge high prices; too much profit; monopoly practices; depreciate resi- dential property, etc.)	7
Interfere with traffic and damage streets	6
Political influence; pressure on government	2
Other	7

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 409 comments were given by 333 persons, for 76 of whom two ideas were coded.

Again a list of comments illustrative of the categories in the table is given in the respondents' own words:

There are jobs that are harmful to work on. The foundries are not safe places to work. The smoke and dust is not good to work in. They sometimes work you too fast.

If they could just regulate work so there would be no layoffs.

If a person becomes ill on the job he doesn't have security. The company will give you an operation and then kick you out in the streets. That is not fair either.

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Putting squeeze on workers to do everything to keep from paying compensation.

Kill a lot of men in the plants; insurance helps the widow only a short time.

Should let us know in advance when work is running low; not give us a surprise notice.

They step up production for a certain length of time, import people for this increase and then dump them on the city.

I believe they do lure by great advertising many people to Detroit, seeking work and the high wage. This brings many who can't get a job, or hold it. Then they are on welfare. And it also brings many who are needed on the farms.

Too many women are in plants. I'd like to see men in the plant jobs and the women in the homes or offices if they must work.

Run ads for help and bring in people from South when there are still unemployed here.

When there is segregation on the job, yes [they do harm]. When they give the best job opportunities to those with the white skin regardless of whether they are qualified or not.

Taking these plants out of Detroit. Taking them South so they can get cheap labor.

Not good to be fighting with working people to prevent higher wages—and want to make more money than working people.

They won't get together with the unions and don't do much good at all.

They try to take advantage of the workers: speed up production and fight with the unions.

Some [industrial plants] are in the middle of the city. They don't make it pleasant for the people around them, they're so dirty. They should be out of the city, they're so noisy.

All of them seem to build right in the city here where they crowd people out of their homes.

They give off a lot of smoke and soot although I suppose they can't help that. But it's really bad; I notice it at night when I go to work. You can so easily get a cinder in your eye.

There's a lot of industry along the river front instead of a nice drive. There should have been more planning in choosing a location for the factories.

Yes, according to the papers, they are contaminating the Detroit

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River by disposing their waste there—and stopping swimming at Belle Isle sometimes.

Some have very ugly buildings and grounds.

Big industries should pay more taxes, because I see in the papers they make more money every year.

Some of their products [prices] too high; poor people can't afford them.

They shouldn't raise prices all the time.

They ruin the streets in the city, all they care for is the almighty dollar; have no regard for the people.

Do not contribute to civic improvement enough, like using the streets paid for by the citizens for a semi-production line.

Don't play politics at the expense of the citizens; stick to their own business and not try to control the whole city.

They're putting their men in office—they're the ones who are always elected. They own and operate the government. It's not the laboring man that's putting place in debt or running the city government; it's the business man. Leave the people choose the people to run for office, not hand-picked by them.

I don't really know, except that I think they control the press.

No big machine does good. Any business this size in Detroit must exert undue influence due to importance.

One other question was asked in reference to industrial companies: "What things would you like to see industrial companies do in Detroit that they are not doing?" This was apparently a little beyond the grasp or imaginative powers of many respondents; more than half of them failed to answer with a classifiable idea. The thoughts that were offered are summarized in Table 49.

The following list offers examples of the things people said in answer to this question:

They should divide their money with the people who work for them: they make plenty.

They should try to work out some type of stable, steady employment. Now there is too much irregularity.

Establish a better health program and provide more recreational facilities.

They should guide, instruct and be more cooperative with labor, which would lessen the number of strikes.

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Table 49
Things That Detroit People Would Like
to See Industrial Companies Do

	<i>Percentage of 317 comments*</i>
Relations with employees and unions	53%
Benefits for employees other than pay (pensions, vacations, profit sharing, hospitalization, recreation, etc.)	12%
Better cooperation with workers and union	11
Improve working conditions	7
Eliminate discrimination in work	7
Increase pay	6
More regular work; avoid layoffs	6
Improve hiring policies (not hire transients; give Detroiters jobs; etc.)	4
Reduce dirt, smoke, noise; locate away from residential areas, etc.	23
Contribute more to the city (taxes, charity, etc.)	13
Other	11

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 317 comments were contributed by 291 persons, for 26 of whom two ideas were coded.

Have a training program for those wanting to learn some special trade; sort of apprentice work that pays something to keep the man going till he is qualified.

Get along better with unions so there wouldn't be so many strikes.

Primarily, I'd like to see them settle strikes—control top management to prevent deals like scrap contract.

Treat employees right, not like machines, so that they have satisfied employees.

I think they could open these trade schools for everyone. They could improve parking around their plants and housing for their employees.

They should hire all the different kinds of people. They seem to wait to hire the colored people last or in emergencies.

I'd like to see equal breaks given to all races. Give a man a job on his merits.

Probably a lot of them could eliminate a lot of that smoke and dirt if they wanted to.

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Get rid of smoke and clear the air. That's all I can think of.

Beautify their property. Are surrounded by residences and should beautify for neighbors.

Improve on their buildings and safety regulations.

They could beautify their own grounds and donate shrubs and trees to the parks we now have. They could fix up their factories inside and clean them up and get better hospital facilities.

Help build up the city a little. Kick in money to clean it up and give it a little class. Why can't they support a symphony? They could try to cooperate with the unions a little better.

Improve Detroit. Take some of their millions and put them into hospitals and civic buildings. Ford has done some [thing] about that but GM and Kresge haven't done enough.

Donate more money for use of the city. It don't hurt them—their income is so high anyway.

Labor Unions

We proceed now to an examination of the answers people gave to a corresponding set of questions about labor unions (Question 22).

It becomes clearly apparent that people have more definite views concerning unions than they have about companies. On the average, the opinions of unions are decidedly less favorable—and there are sharper divisions of attitude between different groups.

We begin by considering the ratings of how good or bad people say the unions are—"in their relations to the city and the people of the city." The ratings run as follows:

Very good	25%
Fairly good	49
Not good	20
Definitely bad	6

The ratings place unions at the halfway mark between the aspects of the city judged best and those judged worst (see Table 27). They are ranked several notches lower in the public's esteem than are industrial companies. At the same time, it is seen that only one person in four (26 per cent) rates unions in a negative way; 74 per cent say they are "very good" or "fairly good."

It might be thought that unions and companies would be set off against each other in people's minds, so that if they rated the one high

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they would place the other low. On the whole, this does not occur. Those who call the company activities "very good" rate the union activities only a trifle worse than do other people; those who think the union "very good" rate the companies fully as high as other people do. The small group that rates the companies "not good" or "definitely bad" (only 4 per cent of the population) does consist disproportionately of pro-union people; more than half of them rate the unions "very good."

When we analyze the ratings assigned to labor unions by respondents in various subdivisions of the population, a number of significant differences appear. These are summarized in the following paragraphs.

Women rate unions worse than men do (29 per cent of the women and 21 per cent of the men place them in the "not good" or "definitely bad" categories).

By age groups, the very youngest and the very oldest show marked differences from the general average. Among people under twenty-five years of age only 16 per cent say that unions are "not good" or worse; among people sixty-five and older, 34 per cent give these ratings. Little variation occurs among the groups between these extremes.

Most important are the differences by socio-economic status and characteristics associated with it. The three socio-economic levels stand farther apart in their ratings of labor unions than on any other feature of the city's life. (This may be seen in Table 27A in Appendix E.) The comparison of ratings by economic groups is shown in Table 50. Only 7 per cent of the top economic group rates the unions "very good"; 26 per cent of the middle group and 41 per cent of the lower group give this rating. Ratings of "not good" and "definitely bad" show equally large differences (read across third row of percentages in Table 50).

Table 50
Ratings of Labor Unions by People at
Different Socio-Economic Levels

<i>Unions rated:</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
Very good	7%	26%	41%
Fairly good	48	51	47
Not good or definitely bad	45	23	12
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	96	328	95

Negroes are especially favorable in their ratings of unions. This is partly a reflection of their relatively low socio-economic position, but even

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when allowance is made for this we find that they rate the union activities higher than do white people. Only 5 per cent of their ratings are "not good" or worse while 53 per cent are "very good."

Amount of schooling, which goes along with socio-economic status, shows a similar but less marked relationship to the ratings of unions. The people with less education are more favorable; those with more education are less favorable. Thus, among persons who did not go beyond the eighth grade, 30 per cent rate unions "very good" and 19 per cent say "not good" or "definitely bad"; by contrast, of those who have gone to college 15 per cent say "very good" and 31 per cent give the "not good" (and "bad") estimates. Further analysis reveals that these differences by amounts of education are mainly, though not entirely, accounted for by the association of greater schooling with higher economic status. Opinions of labor unions differ only slightly between persons of greater and less education, considered at each socio-economic level separately.

Ratings by occupational groups fit into the same picture. Least favorable to unions are the upper range of white collar employees and the business owners and managers. Most favorable are the factory workers, skilled and unskilled. The other occupational groups vary little from one another. Among manual workers there is little differences between skilled and unskilled but a rather large difference between factory workers and those in non-manufacturing industries. These comparisons are all shown in Table 51.

Table 51
Ratings of Labor Unions by Different Occupational Groups

<i>Unions rated:</i>	<i>Owners, Man- agers</i>	<i>Profes- sional</i>	<i>White Upper</i>	<i>Collar Lower</i>	<i>Skilled</i>		<i>Unskilled and Semi-skilled</i>	
	<i>M'f'g</i>	<i>Non- m'f'g</i>	<i>M'f'g</i>	<i>Non- m'f'g</i>	<i>M'f'g</i>	<i>Non- m'f'g</i>	<i>M'f'g</i>	<i>Non- m'f'g</i>
Very good	6%	24%	5%	25%	40%	20%	43%	28%
Fairly good	64	52	52	50	47	55	49	50
Not good (and definitely bad)	30	24	43	25	13	25	8	22
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of persons	33	25	37	32	38	20	74	46

It is of special interest, in a final set of comparisons, to see how union members themselves rate labor union activities. Table 52 shows the overall comparison of union members, persons who are not themselves members but have a union member in the family, and all other persons. It is seen that the union members are most favorable and persons with union

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members in the family next most favorable. While a significant number of union people say that unions are not good, the proportion is too small to lend support to the view sometimes expressed that union members are largely opposed to union activities "in their relations to the city and the people of the city."

Table 52

Ratings of Labor Unions by Union Members and Others

<i>Unions rated:</i>	<i>Ratings by:</i>		
	<i>Union Members</i>	<i>Non-Union Members with Union Members in family</i>	<i>All Others</i>
Very good	39%	25%	16%
Fairly good	47	52	50
Not good or definitely bad	14	23	34
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	159	121	239

Further significant differences are found between CIO and AFL unionists. In the CIO, 10 per cent rate unions "not good" (and "bad"), while in the AFL, 29 per cent (nearly the same as for the non-union public) so rate them. A smaller difference in the same direction exists when family members of CIO and AFL unionists are compared (CIO, 19 per cent rate unions "not good" [and "bad"]; AFL, 28 per cent). Among the most inactive union members, those who say they never attend meetings, the divergence is greater (though the numbers become too small to yield very stable percentages). Of twenty CIO members who never go to union meetings, over half (55 per cent) nevertheless rate unions "very good" while 20 per cent rate them "not good" (and "bad"). Of sixteen AFL members who never attend meetings only three (19 per cent) say "very good" and seven (44 per cent) say "not good" (and "bad").

In summary now, if we bring together the ratings of industrial companies and of labor unions, it is clear that the unions are rated much worse on the average. It is equally clear that the ratings of unions differ much more among various groups in the population—particularly among socio-economic and occupational groups. The division of social attitudes that reflects itself in the ratings of unions is a fact of primary importance in any true picture of Detroit.

One additional finding is significant in this connection. Extremely few people think that labor unions as such are "most important to do something about in Detroit." Only 3 per cent name them as first in importance

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and 7 per cent include them among the three most important problems. (For industrial companies, the percentages are even lower: one-half of one per cent and 3 per cent are the two figures.) These figures may easily be misleading, however, unless we note that much larger numbers do point to labor-management relations as an urgent problem. We shall take up this question of labor-management relations after completing the analysis of attitudes toward unions.

Even though the number of persons is rather small who consider it most important to have action in regard to unions, they are by no means negligible. They are particularly not to be ignored since they belong disproportionately to the top socio-economic group. At this top level, 8 per cent select labor unions as the number one problem needing attention and 13 per cent include it in the three most important problems. In the middle economic group the corresponding figures are 2 per cent and 6 per cent; at the lower level they are zero and 4 per cent. These last sets of percentages indicate how few people of the working class are greatly concerned about the need for reform in labor unionism.

In addition to obtaining the ratings of unions, we asked a series of questions about the *ways* in which unions are thought to do good or harm. The responses are summarized and illustrated in the next few pages.

First are the answers to: "In what ways do you think labor unions do good?" As is evident in Table 53, most people speak of the tangible job-centered gains they believe unions win for workers. This includes not only wages and financial fringe benefits but also better working conditions, hours, security and fair treatment. Extremely few people refer to political action or to the educational, recreational and health services of the union as ways in which labor organizations do good. Even among CIO members the proportions are little higher—3 per cent on recreation, education, etc., and 4 per cent on political action.

Comparisons of answers by people in different socio-economic groups, occupations and union organizations bring out several points of interest, though no strikingly large differences are found. For example, people in the upper economic group speak a little more frequently than the low group of unions bringing improvements in working conditions and wages (these two together comprise 60 per cent of the upper group's comments and 45 per cent of the lower group's), and they place less emphasis than the lower group on security and fair treatment on the job (22 per cent versus 29 per cent).

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Table 53
Ways in Which Labor Unions
Are Believed to Do Good

	<i>Percentage of 669 ways named by respondents*</i>
Unions raise wages; improve standard of living	32%
Provide job security and fair treatment; protect rights of employee	25
Improve working conditions and hours (speed, safety, health, rests, etc.)	22
Get things for labor; fight for workers, and other indefinite advantages	9
Fringe benefits; economic gains other than wages	5
Political and community services	2
Other non-job related activities of union (recreation, education, health care, etc.)	2
Other	3

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 669 comments were given by 470 persons, for 199 of whom two ideas were coded.

While the differences are slight, they are supported by other comparisons which emphasize the need for studying the different meanings that unionism may assume, depending on a person's economic situation. Consider the following differences between semi-skilled (and unskilled) workers in manufacturing plants and those not in factory work: the former groups mention wages and economic fringe benefits as ways in which unions do good in only 26 per cent of all their comments while the non-factory workers include these ideas in 37 per cent. One might have expected the opposite result—but the explanation may lie in the further fact that the plant workers speak much more frequently of the good the union does in protecting job rights (34 per cent of their answers as against 16 per cent by the non-factory group). This gives some indication of how important these workers consider gains in job security and fair treatment as compared to wage benefits. (These findings, of course, refer to Detroit in mid-1951. Doubtless they depend in part on the current wage situation; the amount of emphasis on wages can be expected to shift from year to year and from industry to industry.)

Along this same line, it is interesting to find that 45 per cent of the comments by AFL members speak of wages in answering how the unions

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do good, while for CIO members only 24 per cent of the answers are of this kind.

The following is a short list of illustrative responses to this question on the ways unions do good:

The union makes the high standard of living possible. They accomplish this by getting the working man less hours and more money per hour. Also when a man goes in the shop he stays on the same job and when he works overtime he gets paid time and a half.

Help get pensions for workers, vacation with pay, better sick benefits. My husband never had vacations until the union came in.

Brought hospitalization to the plants.

Workers able to speak up for their rights; that's wonderful; gives us a free country. Not treated like slaves: given chance to work and earn fair wages.

If one gets fired because of a personal matter between the foreman and the worker, the executives get together and talk things out and try to find where the fault is.

They have helped the working man 100 per cent. They have made better working conditions for the working man.

They have fixed it so you don't have to kill yourself on a job. You go at a steady gait.

They protect the rights of the workers. They demand that workers be given what is in a contract and that management obey the rules.

It always provides a helping hand in all funds for education, recreation, charity. It's the best inter-racial organization in the city.

Support good men for all public offices.

They bring the working people together into unity and help them to a clearer insight into the problems. Keep them informed concerning progress.

They have forced industry to be more creative and ingenious.

They are fighting to make sure that the city gives the people their money's worth in taxes.

They kind of make the people feel like they're more or less together.

We report next on the ways unions are believed to do harm or to carry on activities they should not. The overall results are given in Table 54. These are volunteered comments, of course, and consequently only

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small numbers of respondents are likely to mention any one matter. The *relative* size of the percentages is more meaningful than their absolute size. There is no doubt that many additional persons would agree with each point of criticism if these were separately asked about. Twenty-six per cent of the people interviewed gave no answer as to ways unions do harm—or stated that they do no harm.

The widespread criticism of strikes is the most outstanding point in the table. A number of the other categories represent the same type of complaint against unions—that is, their use of organizational power in their own interests. In considering these criticisms, it is to be remembered that in spite of the feelings they reflect, three-fourths of the public rated unions favorably (74 per cent said "very good" or "fairly good"). The apparent paradox probably means simply that the harmful features of unionism that are referred to, while disliked, do not weigh heavily enough in people's thinking to cause them to reject unions. The typical respondent is presumably saying in effect: "While I believe that unions do these things that they should not do, nevertheless, on balance and everything considered, I approve of them."

As a matter of fact, when we compare the responses of people who rate unions favorably and those who say they are "not good," the similarities are more striking than the contrasts. However, a few specific criticisms of unions are more frequently mentioned by people who think unions are "not good." The following five charges are of this kind: Unions disregard the public; they raise costs and keep prices high; they employ violent methods; there is graft in unions; they attempt to tell workers what to think. Taken together, these points comprise 21 per cent of the comments by persons who rate unions "not good" (and "bad") and 8 per cent of the comments by persons rating unions "very good" or "fairly good." All other criticisms are about equal in the two groups or are more common among the friends of unionism.

In general, too, the figures of Table 54 do not differ greatly when analyzed separately for the several socio-economic and occupational groups. Nevertheless, certain of the comparisons are of considerable interest.

First of all, it is primarily the low income group and the semi-skilled factory workers who answer the question by saying that unions do no harm. In each of these groups, 26 per cent reply in this way; only 12 per cent of the middle economic group and 4 per cent of the upper group do so. All the non-manual occupational groups together have only 6 per cent answering in this manner.

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Table 54
Ways in Which Labor Unions
Are Believed to Do Harm

	<i>Percentage of 666 ways named by respondents*</i>	
Strikes—too many; needless ones; not arbitrate enough, etc.		44%
Special reference to DSR strike	7%	
All other	37	
In relation to public and community (apart from strikes)		20
Too much power; "go too far"	6	
Political action bad	6	
Disregard public; push their <i>own</i> self-interests	4	
Keep prices high; raise costs	2	
Other	2	
Relations and methods inside union		18
Union affairs not run right; politics; graft; officials abuse power	5	
Use of violence; goon squads, etc.	4	
High dues	3	
Radicals, Communists in unions		
Force workers to join	2	
Other (including race discrimination)	2	
In relation to employers (apart from strikes)		9
Try to run shop; unreasonable demands, etc.	7	
Other	2	
In relation to individual worker		7
Oppose individual's getting ahead on merit; destroy initiative, etc.	5	
Attempt to tell workers what to think and do	2	
All other		2

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 666 comments were given by 437 persons, for 229 of whom two ideas were coded. In addition, 77 respondents replied that unions do no harm.

Among those who do mention ways in which they think the unions do harm, the principal differences between socio-economic strata are these: Strikes are criticized most by the *low* group (54 per cent of their specific

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comments pertain to strikes, including the DSR strike; at the middle economic level, the figure is 46 per cent; at the upper level, 37 per cent). Similarly, by occupational group, semi-skilled (and unskilled) factory workers complain of strikes proportionately more than any other group—except housewives. For housewives the figure is 53 per cent; for semi-skilled in factory work, 46 per cent—and for all other respondents 39 per cent.

The matters that are more frequently emphasized by the upper economic group than by the lower, with the middle group in between, are the following: unions try to run the shops; they disregard the public interest; they have too much power; they use violent methods; they try to tell workers what to think. The high socio-economic group devotes 35 per cent of its criticisms to these points; in the middle groups it is 21 per cent and in the lower group it is 8 per cent.

Criticism of unions for engaging in political action comes from an interesting combination of groups. It occurs most among business owners and managers and next most among factory workers, both skilled and unskilled (13 per cent and 11 per cent respectively for these groups—and only 3 per cent for all the remaining population). In line with this, 10 per cent of union members, as against less than 5 per cent of all other people, spontaneously mention political activities as something unions should not engage in (for CIO members, the figure is 12 per cent).

Only one or two other matters show suggestive differences between union members and non-members. Twice as many union members, proportionately, answer that unions do "no harm" (20 per cent of union people, 10 per cent of all others). Among union members, there is a striking difference in this respect between CIO and AFL members, 25 per cent of the CIO saying "no harm" as contrasted with 8 per cent of AFL members.

Considering union members and non-members who mention harmful effects of unions, the union people speak more often of high dues and of union affairs not being run right (11 per cent of unionists' comments versus 4 per cent by all other persons). On the other hand, references to "goon squads," violence and forcing workers to join unions are less common among union members (3 per cent by union people versus 7 per cent by others).

The following list offers examples of the volunteered statements on ways unions are thought to do harm and things they do that they should not do:

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By striking when really not called for; hurts the entire city.

They call too many stops over things not important; lose too much time that way.

Yes, they call strikes—and who suffers? The worker and the resident, whether it is bus, garbage collection, etc. The union does help itself only.

In seeking for higher wages, the laboring group suffers. They should try to cut out so many strikes.

Don't believe they settle strikes as soon as they could be settled. Sometimes men know how strike is to be settled in beginning but settlement is delayed for months. Doesn't cost unions a penny while on strike but costs employers thousands a day. Think unions do this to keep men under their thumb.

No, I don't think they do any harm. Sometimes they cause hardships during strikes. But we have to suffer if we want to gain anything.

They like to concern themselves with everything under the sun. They should confine themselves to labor activities instead of mixing in politics.

They should not try to get such high wages because it raises the cost of living all over.

Demand too much for themselves; not at all anxious to pass any raises on to others—federal workers, policemen, teachers.

Trying to take over too much—for example, in field of education. Education should be impartial.

Don't use good judgment in their leaders and follow those leaders blindly.

Shouldn't beat someone up when they go out on strike—beat up officials, overturn cars, etc. Shouldn't do such things.

Levy assessments without the rank and file knowing about it or what it is for; causes resentment and ill-feeling.

They discriminate against colored by not letting them join. We wouldn't have to join the white local, we could have a local of our own.

Some of them are very radical and let their power go to their head.

They have men so snug in their jobs that some take advantage of it. They think just because they're in the union, they can push management around.

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The guy with the small brain and a large mouth leads the rabble to their ends and not necessarily to ends of civic good.

Advancing people according to seniority. I think they should be advanced according to knowledge and ability.

When the unions allow the company to break them or cause them to slow down in what they are doing.

Lead or attempt to lead less educated people too much; attempt to do their thinking for them.

Shouldn't interfere so much with way a man like my husband runs his business. He's fair to his men but they can't afford to join the union. Initiation fee too high.

A final set of attitudes toward unions is revealed in answer to the question: "What things would you like to see unions do in Detroit that they are not doing?" A summary of the replies appears in Table 55. Here, as in the similar question about industrial companies, a great many respondents had no ideas to offer. The points that are emphasized agree closely with those reported in the last few pages. In other words, what people say unions should do is remove or correct the faults that were named in answer to the preceding question.

Table 55
Things That Detroit People Would Like
to See Labor Unions Do

	<i>Percentage of 350 comments*</i>
Have fewer strikes; cooperate more; be more reasonable, etc.	.37%
Run union affairs better; get better leaders, etc.	18
Improve relations with members; more participation; not discriminate; lower dues; better control within union, etc.	13
Improve relations with public; better publicity; support wage-price stabilization, etc.	9
Improve unions' dealing with companies; better grievance handling, more gains in working conditions, security, etc.	8
More benefits and services by union for members	3
Specific references to solving DSR strike	3
Other	9

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 350 comments were contributed by 313 persons, for 37 of whom two ideas were coded.

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The only large difference in response between socio-economic groups occurs in regard to the category "run union affairs better." Among high status people 24 per cent of the comments deal with this, at the middle level 18 per cent and at the lower level 7 per cent. No particularly important differences appear in the analysis by occupational groups. The largest departure from the overall percentages is the especially frequent suggestion by business executives and owners that unions should cooperate more and strike less (53 per cent of their comments versus 35 per cent by all other people).

A comparison of union members and non-members shows that the union people more often than the others suggest that the unions should improve relations with their members and the public; the non-union public refers especially frequently to the desirability of more cooperation and fewer strikes.

The following responses in the interviews illustrate these and other criticisms:

They should work together with management and not go on strikes. Eliminate these wild-cat strikes because it's necessary to estimate output through time studies in industry and that is impossible with wild-cat strikes; causes considerable loss to company.

Get into harmony with management and promote stable employment. Go after lower prices and forget about getting more money. Lower the cost of living: demanding money doesn't solve anything.

Would like to see them strive to improve their leadership; an educational college so they'd understand business and the objectives of business. Then they'd understand each other.

They should get some kind of stable, long-run contract or arrangement to keep wages and prices in proportion.

Bigger education program; see that better educated stewards are elected in the plants.

Punish the parties responsible for breaking the agreements between labor and company.

I would prefer it if they were more democratic. They are supposed to be democratic but we know certain individuals become entrenched in there and they run the unions rather than the rank and file, and their methods of doing so are difficult to change.

I would like to see them take a positive part in city government through having members elected to city government.

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I'd like to see them spend more time in getting better work conditions and not so much time in politics.

Labor Unions should get rid of some of the communistic and fascist elements. Get rid of the persons that are working against democracy.

I'd like to see them stick together more in preference to having splits like left wings and right wings; that should be ruled out.

Give a detailed account of where the money [dues] goes. Give each member a statement; this could easily be done.

Their efforts should be with working conditions and not wages.

I think they have enough meetings but they should get people to come to meetings more. It's very important that members attend; should give them reasons to come.

One thing the unions could do is educate the newspaper reporters. I mean to report the news as it actually is, not just report in favor of management.

Start a university of their own.

Labor-Management Relations

Now that we have examined the attitudes expressed about companies and unions, we shall review the evidence from our interviews in regard to relations between the two. Several questions (the parts of Question 20) inquired what our respondents think of labor-management relations.

According to the ratings we obtained, Detroit people are not well pleased with the labor-management situation. They think relations between companies and unions are relatively poor compared to most other topics covered in the interview. These relations stand tenth among the fourteen points rated—that is, fifth from last. The ratings are definitely worse than those given either to industry or to labor unions. The percentages assigning each rating to labor-management relations are as follows:

Very good	10%
Fairly good	56
Not good	26
Definitely bad	8

At the same time, a large majority of the people interviewed believe that relations between labor and management are improving. In answer to

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a question whether the relations are getting better or worse in Detroit, we received these replies:

Better	63%
Same	8
Worse	29

These two sets of ratings show a definite relationship to each other. The people who think labor-management relations are good also tend to believe they are growing better; those who think the relations not good tend to believe they are growing worse. These tendencies are shown in Table 56.

Table 56
Relationship Between Two Sets of Ratings
Pertaining to Labor-Management Relations

<i>Labor-management relations growing:</i>	<i>Labor-Management Relations Now:</i>	
	<i>Good</i>	<i>Not Good</i>
Better	76%	40%
Same	7	11
Worse	17	49
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	312	164

Women rate the state of labor-management relations a trifle worse than men do (38 per cent "not good" [and "bad"] by women versus 30 per cent by men). They likewise are more pessimistic about the trend; 38 per cent of them say relations are getting worse while only 20 per cent of men say this.

Members of the upper economic group have the most unfavorable view of labor-management relations. Ratings of "not good" (and "definitely bad") are given by 51 per cent of them (by 59 per cent of the women in this stratum); at the middle level, 31 per cent rate in this way, and at the lower level 25 per cent. The unfavorable ratings in the top economic group are particularly characteristic of the college educated (65 per cent of them give the "not good" or "definitely bad" ratings). Apart from this group, there are no clear differences by amount of education.

Negroes are even more favorable in their estimates than are white respondents at the same economic levels. At the middle level, 25 per cent of Negroes give the unfavorable ratings and at the lower level only 15 per cent do so.

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Among the occupational groups, those who think labor relations especially poor are the upper range of white collar workers and the housewives (45 per cent and 43 per cent respectively say the relations are "not good" or worse). The lower white collar people are at the opposite extreme (only 17 per cent give the poor ratings). Semi-skilled factory workers also rate labor-management relations particularly favorably (19 per cent give the low ratings).

Union members differ only a little from non-union members in their ratings of labor-management relations—in the direction of being more favorable. AFL members and the more active CIO members (those who state that they attend meetings) think somewhat more favorably of the relations than do other unionists.

Labor-management relations rank rather high among the matters that Detroiters think it is "important to do something about." Eight per cent of our respondents consider it the most urgent of all the problems referred to and 20 per cent include it among the three most important problems. It is more frequently judged the topmost problem by the upper economic group than by others (13 per cent of them so rate it as compared with 8 per cent of the middle group, and only 4 per cent of the lower group). In the upper group, more than one person in four (28 per cent) includes labor-management relations among the three most important matters for attention in Detroit.

When people were asked in what ways labor-management relations are not as good as they should be, their answers focused largely on the number and costly effects of strikes and on the general lack of cooperation between companies and unions. A more complete classification of the responses is given in Table 57.

Occupational groups differ considerably in the emphasis they give to the different answers represented in this table. Most notable is the tendency for the managerial, professional and white collar groups more frequently to blame unions and for the manual workers to blame management. People in the upper occupations direct 32 per cent of their comments against unions and only 7 per cent against management (the third and fourth categories respectively in Table 57); the manual workers reverse this with 25 per cent of their ideas critical of management and 14 per cent against labor unions. Among factory workers alone, only 9 per cent blame unions. Manual workers also refer negatively to strikes somewhat

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Table 57

Ways in Which Labor-Management Relations Are Considered Not as Good as They Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 412 ways named by respondents*</i>
Strikes—too many; needless ones; bad results of strikes, etc.	30%
Lack of cooperation or agreement— by both labor and management	29
Misuse of power by <i>unions</i> ; bad leader- ship, unreasonable, etc.	21
Bad labor policies and actions by <i>management</i>	13
References to DSR as a case	6
Other	1

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 412 comments were contributed by 345 persons, for 67 of whom two ideas were coded.

less than do the people in white collar and higher level positions (21 per cent versus 29 per cent) while housewives and others not employed outside the home refer to strikes especially often (36 per cent of their comments). *Skilled* workers seldom speak of strikes in stating what is wrong with labor-management relations (only 11 per cent of their comments).

When union members are compared with the remainder of the population, we again find the contrasting proportions who blame organized labor and who blame management. Among unionists, 15 per cent of the comments refer disapprovingly to unions and 23 per cent to management (for CIO alone, it is 12 per cent versus 24 per cent), while for all other people the figures are 23 per cent blaming unions versus 10 per cent blaming management. Non-union people also object to strikes more often in stating ways labor relations are "not good" (34 per cent of their responses as compared to 20 per cent by union members).

Here, again, a list of quoted responses will help make concrete the kind of answers that fall into the categories that have been tabulated. Some of the ways people think labor-management relations are not satisfactory are these:

Too many strikes, they don't do any good. You never make up the money you lose by strikes; they make prices go up too high.

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Labor has too much to say. There's too many strikes. They don't have good reasons for striking.

They strike first and mediate later. They should mediate an extra few weeks before striking. Nobody ever wins in a strike. Never make up what they lose. Leaders make graft during strike; misuse money from treasury.

Too much politics in union and in management.

Too much stubbornness on the part of both of them.

Always walking out on each other. Don't have any cooperation.

Play politics too much. Don't seem to try to iron out troubles, but are too much concerned with who is going to come out top dog.

The unions are good to a certain extent but maybe they're not run by the right people; the right leaders aren't picked. The top men seem to be OK but the stewards and people like that let their authority run away from them.

Labor attempts to usurp too much of the power and prerogatives belonging to management solely.

It's the unions' fault—too much share the wealth idea.

There is too much crooked work in the unions. The unions would be better if the officials would listen to the men.

Some members of management still think that they are little kings and don't feel that they have to discuss problems with employees. Some have a take-it-or-leave-it attitude towards labor in discussing wages and working conditions.

Management does not give labor a chance to explain their feelings.

An insincere job on the part of management to meet labor problems.

Unions could have more power. They have done a lot for the working man.

When the people interviewed were asked to specify in what ways labor-management relations are getting better or worse, their replies fall into the classification shown in Table 58.

It is apparent that the people who think relations are improving differ from those who are pessimistic primarily in believing that coopera-

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Table 58
Ways in Which Labor-Management Relations Are
Thought to Be Getting Better or Worse

<i>Better</i>	<i>Percentage of 385 responses*</i>
More agreement and cooperation occurring; better understanding	30%
Strike problem improving (fewer, less violent, etc.)	16
Unions stronger; better aims; more under- standing of management problems	6
Management policies and practices improving; accept unions as here to stay; etc.	14
<i>Worse</i>	
Less agreement and cooperation; neither side ready to make concessions	8%
Strike problem worse (more strikes, longer "wildcat" strikes, etc.)	14
Union aims and actions growing worse; too much power; try to do management's job	7
Management policies and practices worse; speed-ups, bad working conditions, etc.	3
Other (not classifiable)	2%

*Only one response was coded for a person; 208 respondents gave no classifiable answer, principally, "don't know."

tion and mutual understanding are increasing. It also appears that more people give management credit for doing things that improve relations while more people blame unions for making relations worse. In respect to the strike situation, people are just about equally balanced as to whether the trend is favorable or unfavorable.

The figures that appear to give management most credit for making relations better take on a somewhat different meaning when we consider replies to the follow-up question. This next question inquired directly: Do you think *labor* or *management* has done most to make the relations better (worse)? ("Better" or "worse" was asked, depending on the person's previous response). Again a great number of respondents did not feel able to answer this question or felt compelled to say that labor and management equally deserve credit or blame. The answers that did desig-

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nate labor or management leave little to choose between the two. Labor is selected about twice as often as management, *both* as having made relations better and as having made them worse. Considering only the responses that made a choice between labor and management, the percentages are these: 42 per cent say labor has done most to make relations "better" while 22 per cent say management has; 24 per cent say labor has done most to make relations "worse" while 12 per cent say management has. The vote is about equally favorable to the two groups. At the same time it is apparent that labor is more often viewed as the active agent of change—whether for good or ill.

In line with this last statement, an interesting fact now comes to light about the figures in Table 58 indicating that *management's* role in labor relations has especially improved. If we take only those people who said that labor relations are "better" in that *management* policies and practices are improving, we now find that most of them say *labor* rather than management is mainly responsible for this improvement (48 per cent of this group answer "labor" as against 16 per cent who say "management"; the remainder say "both" or give no answer to the question). In other words, these people are saying that while the companies have taken steps to improve relations, they have done so as a result of union pressures.

The question whether labor or management has done most to make their relations better (or worse) receives markedly different replies at the upper and lower economic levels. These responses once more call attention to the divergence of views on labor issues, depending on the economic position of the persons questioned. The contrast is seen in the percentages of Table 59. If one reads across each row of figures it becomes clear that the lower economic group tends to give labor the credit and management the blame. Correspondingly the upper level group blames labor for making relations worse and credits management for making them better. The large middle economic group splits in an indecisive way between the more extreme groups. Those in the middle class who believe the labor situation is growing better resemble the *lower* group in giving labor most credit for improvements, but those who think labor relations are deteriorating are more like the *upper* group in blaming labor for this condition.

Education makes relatively little difference in people's answers to this question apart from their economic position. At each socio-economic level, however, the better educated tend slightly to give management more credit and labor more blame than do the people who have less schooling.

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Table 59

Comparison of Socio-Economic Groups on the Question Whether Labor or Management Has Done Most to Make Relations Better or Worse

<i>Labor-management relations</i> made <i>better</i> by:	<i>Socio-Economic Groups</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
Labor	16%	27%	45%
Management	32	12	7
made <i>worse</i> by:			
Labor	21	17	3
Management	0	7	21
Other answers (i.e., made better or worse by both, equally, etc.)	31	37	24
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of persons	76	263	62

The replies to this same question have been tabulated for union members and people who are not in unions. The unionists preponderantly give a vote of confidence to the unions as being responsible for improved relations (41 per cent say "labor" has done most toward bettering relations while only 7 per cent give "management" this credit). Among CIO members the contrast is even greater—47 per cent versus 5 per cent. Corresponding figures for non-union people are 22 per cent versus 18 per cent.

Fewer than one in five of the union members (18 per cent) believe labor relations are getting worse. This small group splits about evenly in its blame of labor and of management—about 9 per cent saying each. AFL members blame labor more than management (12 per cent versus 6 per cent); the reverse is the case among CIO members (7 per cent hold labor responsible while 10 per cent say management). The non-union group more often blames labor (19 per cent naming "labor" as against 7 per cent saying "management").

The statements of our respondents explaining why they believe relations in industry are growing better or worse, and which side they praise or blame, are illustrated in the quotations that follows:

Better

They don't fight on the streets like they used to.

The company is now offering cost of living benefits. If the cost of living goes up, they raise the rate of pay hourly or on salary.

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Labor is getting smarter; realize strike is not always best way to settle a dispute.

Industry is beginning to hire personnel men. They're hiring men who try to understand the men. People are more conscious of what constitutes labor and management. Also, industry is creating industrial relations departments.

They are making the agreements a little longer now; they used to be for 3 to 6 months, now they go for 3 years.

Labor is getting more respectable in its operations. Reuther has brought prestige to the labor movement.

Company considers the working man more; providing place to smoke on job and various safety factors.

During the depression, if you asked for a raise, they laughed at you, and if they thought you meant it, you were fired. Today you can ask for a raise and get it.

Yes, relations are better; most labor organizations help educate their members as to what labor organizations and management should do.

Better—now heads of both parties seem to bring grievances to third board for discussion.

Labor has made things better because they have gone out for themselves. What management has done, it has been forced to do.

They're getting younger people in the executive jobs. They're coming up with better ideas. They're making better working conditions and stuff like that.

Management has done most by being more open-minded on labor questions. They will sit down and talk where one time they wouldn't even listen.

The union is stronger than one worker; management found that it had to deal with a strong group and began respecting [them].

I think both of them are trying hard and if they continue in their efforts, it can't help but improve steadily.

Worse

Management does not seem to want to cooperate with labor and vice versa. They don't really seem to want to try.

The Congress and states are passing laws that the union don't like and will cause strikes making things bad all the way around.

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These laws are made to stop strikes but nothing will stop strikes, not a law anyway.

Unions are too high-handed; seem to think they run the business instead of the owners.

Management is a little too liberal. Getting too liberal . . . too damn liberal. If I was a time-study man, could reduce price of car by about 15%.

Strikes are still occurring at a rate which indicates the labor movement is not interested in gains received but is always causing agitation for more benefits which at the present time are impossible to attain due to the uncertainties due to government regulations.

Management doesn't want to permit labor to have a decent wage. They want to make all profits for themselves; management is just greedy.

I think the unions [have made things worse]. They cause all the trouble. They are too stubborn and expect too much.

Union leaders are fakers, most of them. Union itself is a good thing.

I'm against unions because they don't have proper leadership. A lot of foreign element, radicals. They're the ones who work at it. We Americans sleep.

[Labor has made things worse]. If worker had abilities to be a manager, he would be a manager. If he isn't or can't be a manager, keep hands off management. Ones that know how to manage should manage.

By way of summary, now, in regard to labor, industry, and their relations to each other, the conclusions that stand out in the preceding analysis are these:

The general estimate of industrial companies—"in their relations to the city and the people of the city"—is extremely favorable. Moreover, the approval is expressed by all major groups in the city. Appreciation is strong for the companies' production achievements and their contribution of jobs, income and economic welfare for the city. They also receive a certain amount of commendation for their charitable donations and other assistance to community life. At the same time, people express a number of criticisms of industrial firms, dealing largely with various features of their employee and labor relations policies and with the dirt, smoke and ugly surroundings they create.

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Labor unions are less favorably rated—though a large majority of the ratings still approve. Three-fourths of the respondents say unions are "very good" or "fairly good." At the same time there are considerably sharper divisions of attitude between different groups in the community in regard to unions. When people are asked how the unions do good, they accent the tangible job-centered gains and economic benefits to members. On the negative side, they speak most about the bad effects of strikes and the alleged misuse of power by unions and union leaders.

With respect to labor-management relations, now, our analysis indicates that although Detroit people have quite positive feelings about work opportunities and jobs here, they are not so pleased with the larger relationships that exist between industry and working people. Many Detroiters are particularly critical of the way organized labor and management deal with each other. Both unions and companies are blamed, unions somewhat more so—and strikes are an especially frequent target for complaints.

At the same time, unions are also credited more than management for having been instrumental in bringing about improved industrial relations. Thus it appears that unions are perceived as the dynamic force producing both good and bad consequences.

Only 10 per cent of Detroit people rate labor-management relations "very good" and one person in three rates them definitely "not good." However, two-thirds of the respondents think these relations are at least "fairly good" and the same proportion asserts that relations are getting better.

One person in twelve places the problem of improving labor relations at the very top of the list of things it is important to do something about in Detroit. One person in five includes it among the three most urgent problems.

Attitudes toward labor-management relations, as toward labor unions, show large and significant differences by subdivisions of the population. In general, the upper socio-economic and occupational groups tend to blame unions for what is bad and to credit management for what is good in labor relations. The manual workers and people at lower economic levels tend to reverse this, blaming management and approving the union's role. The large middle economic group splits in its approvals and disapprovals on these issues. Approximately equal numbers rate unions "very good" and say they are "not good" or are "definitely bad." Similarly, about as many say that labor has done most to make labor-management relations "better," and management has done most to make them "worse,"

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as say the opposite—that labor is most responsible for making things “worse” while management has made them “better.”

These contrasting attitudes of different economic groups are an outstanding fact of Detroit life. They are most clearly in evidence in respect to the “labor question” but the underlying divergence of values and interests shows itself on many other issues as well.

Attitudes Pertaining to Detroit Schools, Newspapers and Recreational Opportunities

The cultural and recreational activities dealt with in this section of the report are well thought of by Detroit people. The public schools, newspapers, Wayne University and spare-time activities occupy four of the five top ratings among the fourteen aspects of the city's life that were rated. While they are all highly regarded, people nevertheless express significant criticisms. The opinions, good and bad, are summarized in the next few pages.

Detroit's Public Schools

When respondents were asked to rate Detroit's public schools (Question 18), the overall ratings came out fourth highest among the entire range of activities considered in the interview. The public schools received the following ratings:

Very good	46%
Fairly good	46
Not good	6
Definitely bad	2

Despite this generally good rating of Detroit schools, one person in five (19 per cent) believes that it is still urgent for the city to effect further improvements—evidenced by the fact that this proportion includes the schools among the three topmost problems to do something about.

No clearly significant or important differences in judgments concerning the public schools are found to exist when we compare men and women, economic groups and Negroes and whites. However, there is a slight tendency for Negroes to give ratings a little less favorable than whites and for upper income people to be a trifle more likely to consider further action to improve the schools of prime importance. We find no tendency for people who now have children in the schools or who previously had direct contact with the schools (through their own attendance or that of other family members) to rate the schools higher or lower than do other people.

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High ratings of the schools are given most often by persons having only grade school education, next most by high school people and least often by those who have gone to college. The schools are called "very good" by 55 per cent of those who did not go beyond grade school, by 45 per cent of those who attended high school, and by only 34 per cent of the people who went to college.

By religious groups, Detroit's public schools are rated "very good" by 52 per cent of Protestants and by 41 per cent of Catholics. Further analysis indicates that the difference is not due to variations in education or socio-economic levels between the major church groups. It occurs at each educational level considered separately and at the middle and low economic levels—with the small groups in the high socio-economic stratum showing no difference. Within other classifications by religion, Jews give approximately the same ratings of the schools as do Protestants while the "no church preference" group gives the least favorable estimate of all (only 25 per cent "very good").

When people are asked in what ways the schools are not as good as they might be, they give the answers shown in Table 60. The response most often given refers to the crowded conditions and the need for more teachers and buildings. Fairly frequent, too, are comments concerning educational policies and procedures and those critical of teachers and teaching practices. Several of these last criticisms charge racial prejudice against Negroes.

Table 60
Ways in Which Detroit Public Schools Are Considered
Not as Good as They Should Be

	<i>Percentag of 366 ways named by respondents*</i>
Crowded conditions of schools; need more buildings, more teachers	37%
Educational policies; methods; administra- tion ("way the schools are run")	25
Quality and performance of teachers	17
Inadequate pay for teachers	6
Nature of school population; mixing of Negroes and whites	6
Condition of buildings and equipment	3
Other	6

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 366 comments were given by 291 persons, for 75 of whom two ideas were coded.

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Examples of statements people made in regard to the schools are these:

They're overcrowded; you can't teach children a subject if one teacher has to take care of forty to fifty children.

They are very overcrowded at the present time. They just don't have enough facilities to accomodate all the children. As far as their methods and set-up are concerned, they are very good.

Overcrowded and understaffed and up to now Board of Education has not been abreast of times. Should be better now they have a few new people.

Equipment is short. Need more, and more modern, equipment. Need tools to work with.

Could be better; some children only go to school half a day.

Not enough personal interest in the child; have attitude that if child isn't doing well in school, might as well get out. This is truer in high school where they are terribly crowded.

Very few children get a good grounding in the basic subjects. Sight reading does not make good readers of children. Children should not be allowed to correct each other's papers; it's teacher's job and there is too much chance to cheat.

From the different things I notice with my children and those of my friends, I'd say they don't have any social life in the schools. And they don't have the type of courses other schools in other parts of the country offer. They don't get the children ready for business, for life after school. They're very lax in their courses. They don't fit the needs of this generation.

Should have more courses in home living; teach the children to get along with parents.

Too many frills and furbelows—music and art; not enough of 3 R's; too much time on gym.

Need more technical training for boys who may not be able to finish high—or go on after high.

In their ways of marking and grading. And a lot of unnecessary studies like Latin. A lot of marks are based on tests and some kids just can't take tests.

Education and religion should be taught together; all schools should include religion of some sort in their teachings as part of the education program.

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The way they have classes here, boys and girls together. In Malta the schools were divided and the men teach the boys and the women the girls. And as soon as they learn to read here, they know about things that only adults should know about. I don't like that.

They don't have enough discipline for the children; they let them fool around too much.

The teachers are only interested in putting in their time, don't care about the children at all and the children are bad.

The present day teacher in the public school depends on the homework too much; not enough classroom work.

Too many old duffers in system. Maybe a pension would help get rid of them.

Some teachers don't treat the kids right. That is, some white teachers don't treat colored children like they should.

School inconsiderate, also prejudiced. Child is marked according to how well he is liked. Teachers make poorer children unhappy by insisting that certain things be bought which the child cannot afford; don't understand the child. Should be more colored teachers; they might understand the kids better.

Teachers are underpaid and are not happy so do not do such a good job sometimes.

Unions kicking on way the teachers are underpaid. They've gotta live!

All colored or all white; I think that's bad for kids. It's better when they go to a mixed school, get a chance to know each other.

Pretty bad, don't half teach children; don't want colored kids in some schools. Some of the colored kids have to walk twice as far to a colored school.

The Negroes go to school with the white children. That is the worst thing. Should not mix 'em up like that.

The school my children go to is prejudiced against us because we live in a project. In fact, I won't even belong to this PTA because of that; joined and they wouldn't have anything to do with me. (White respondent.)

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We should have better lighting and desks in the older schools.
Modernize our older schools.

Good truant officers, but they should be more strict. My son got away
being absent from Christmas to Easter and nobody knew it and
didn't tell me.

Parochial Schools In Detroit

Questions corresponding to those about public schools were also asked in regard to parochial schools in Detroit, including both Catholic parochial schools and those of other religious groups (Question 18c). These questions were used only in the case of persons who were acquainted with parochial schools through having attended these schools themselves or through having members of their families who attended. Consequently, the number of respondents is relatively small—125 persons. Moreover, these people are specially selected in the sense that they have already manifested their positive attitude toward parochial schools by utilizing them in preference to public schools. As would be expected, accordingly, their ratings of parochial schools are extremely favorable:

Very good	77%
Fairly good	21
Not good	2
Definitely bad	0

Analysis by religion indicates that 101 of the 125 respondents giving these ratings are Catholic. Their ratings are a shade higher than the others (79 per cent "very good" versus 67 per cent by the small non-Catholic group). People who now have children in parochial schools rate the schools a little better than those whose contacts occurred earlier (86 per cent versus 69 per cent saying "very good"). Women give slightly higher ratings than men (81 per cent versus 70 per cent "very good").

Only a very small number of respondents replied to the question concerning ways in which parochial schools are not satisfactory, since this question, too, was asked only of persons who had someone in the family who had attended these schools in Detroit and since many of these people had no criticism to voice. The sixty-eight critical comments that were expressed fall into the categories shown in Table 61.

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Table 61

Ways in Which Parochial Schools Are Considered
Not as Good as They Should Be—
By Respondents in Families That Have Attended Parochial Schools

	<i>Percentage of 68 ways named by respondents*</i>
Educational policies and methods (other than question of religious emphasis)	46%
Crowded conditions; need more buildings, more teachers	21
Quality and performance of teachers	10
Emphasis and relations of religious instruc- tion in the curriculum	7
Need for public aid	4
Other	12

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 68 comments were given by 57 persons, for 11 of whom two ideas were coded.

The following quotations illustrate the ideas offered by respondents:

I think maybe their scope of subjects could be a little wider.

They should teach more trades and arts to better prepare the children for jobs. They are not as practical as they could be.

Courses are all college preparatory; do not train you in any trade or practical phase.

Improvement needed in extra-curricular activities but academically splendid from way my boy has progressed in three years.

Don't have as large a selection of subjects as public schools. Don't teach machine shop, mechanical drawing and things a fellow might want. Stick too much to academic subjects. Don't vary enough.

Too much stress on sports instead of scholastic.

Wouldn't send my daughter to parochial school. Superior to public school in matter of studies but child should have pleasure along with school work.

Some of the schools are not large enough. They need more room. They're so overcrowded.

They could use more Catholic high schools.

Too many children and not enough sisters to teach. The children need more attention.

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Like public schools, they, too, need smaller classes.

Well, this school where we send our children, doesn't have any playground. The kids have to play in the cemetery in back of the church.

Although well trained as teachers, nuns inclined to be narrow-minded about many petty matters.

The teachers should take more pains with the mothers. They don't mix very well.

They should be eliminated in favor of the public schools; the parochial schools should leave religion to the churches.

I would do away with them all. The city schools teach you more—of everything. There is too much accent on religion in the parochial schools.

City should help them out. It's a slow process of building up, donations and all that.

After you pay so much money to the parish they should put the kids through school for less money.

Wayne University

Wayne University (Question 19) is given the highest rating of all activities which respondents as a whole were asked about in the interview. Also, it is mentioned the fewest number of times as being important to do something about (less than 2 per cent included it among the three most important things to do something about). Ratings of the University are:

Very good	66%
Fairly good	31
Not good	3
Definitely bad	0

These ratings represent the responses of two-thirds of the population; the other one-third did not know enough about the University to feel that they could express an opinion.

The favorable ratings are given just about equally by men and women, whites and Negroes and all three socio-economic classes. Ratings given by those who have attended Wayne University, or members of whose families have attended, are not significantly different from appraisals given by persons who have had no such direct contact with the University.

People of most limited education appear to be especially enthusiastic in their regard for the University. Of those who had no more than seventh grade education, 80 per cent gave the "very good" rating; among eighth

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to twelfth grade people, 67 per cent said "very good," and among those with more than high school education, 58 per cent answered in this way.

A classification of the criticisms of Wayne are tabulated in Table 62. Only 137 persons were able to contribute answers about ways in which the University is less satisfactory than it might be. A majority of the comments deal with the University's physical facilities, its need for growth and a better campus. Other groups of ideas refer to Communistic influence on the campus, educational policies and standards, and the kinds of students (mostly objections to Negroes).

Table 62
Ways in Which Wayne University Is Considered
Not as Good as it Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 157 ways named by respondents*</i>
Crowded; needs more buildings	34%
Too scattered; poor location; no campus	17
Too radical; Communistic, etc.	15
Educational policies and standards	8
Nature of student population	6
Condition of buildings	5
Quality and performance of teachers	4
Poor campus life	4
Other	7

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 157 comments were given by 137 persons, for 20 of whom two ideas were coded.

The charges of Communism and radicalism have the interesting characteristic that more than half of them are accompanied by such remarks as "I've heard rumors . . .," "they tell me . . .," "I don't know much about it, but . . .," "this is probably not true," "all I can go by is what I've read . . . might be just to build circulation," "only hearsay," and so on. Phrases of this kind occur only rarely in comments on other topics covered in the interview. Their frequent use here consequently appears significant. Nevertheless, it is clear that despite the high rating the University receives from the city as a whole, a small number (less than 5 per cent of the population) believes or suspects that the institution may be "communistic." A considerably greater than chance number of these people are in the upper socio-economic group, are high school graduates, and Catholics. Also, as an indication of their social attitudes, the ratings they gave

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to labor unions were examined. Compared to other Detroiters, more than twice as many of them rate unions "not good" (and "bad").

Illustrative comments on these and other matters pertaining to Wayne University are contained in the following list:

Should get more buildings; need even more. That all takes money I know. I notice they are building some, but they need more.

Not enough facilities to take care of students of city. Should be expanded on much larger scale to take care of anyone who wants to go to college.

Should have more buildings and facilities. Can't do the job so well when cramped for space.

They need more money for buildings and to attract good men for research.

Principally, recreational facilities are needed. It doesn't have enough room for all its activities. The educational facilities are very good.

Not compact enough. Classes are strung out all over the city from what I hear.

Really situated in a bad part of the city. That school should be out; too congested, wrong neighborhood.

Too bad it's located where it is; no grounds, too much traffic. Should put some traffic underground and cut some off.

Shouldn't be in the center of town as it is. Should be out farther; buildings should be more integrated, more campus.

I think it is a hotbed of Communism. Seems like the younger members of the Communist Party have picked that for their home university.

I don't know anything about Wayne. I've heard they have subversive activities there.

Somewhere in the back of my mind I have the opinion that all of the professors at Wayne are Communists. This is probably not true.

Have heard that it's a breeding ground for Communists. Don't know much about its standing. Again, discipline is lax; hence the revolutionary ideas.

Don't offer as many subjects to adults in evening classes as they should.

The training is somewhat narrow, more emphasis should be placed on developing the cultural background of the individual.

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Its rating is not as good as some other schools, like the University of Michigan. If I had a chance to go for an education now, I wouldn't go to Wayne. I can't quite explain it.

I really don't know. My nieces and nephews seem to like it. I think the boys and girls should be separated from each other more. In classes, recreation and so on.

Too many colored people in it is only trouble.

Colored mixing with whites is the only thing wrong.

I've heard rumors that a color mark was drawn but I don't know that it is so. I don't believe it.

Well, you see now, I haven't went there, you'd have to know someone there. The teachers who live out here would say it's good. Maybe in time it will be a great university because of all the buildings. Course, if you're going to have all the colored, foreigners, wops, go there—well, I hear lot of complaints. My son don't want to go because they have lot of Negroes there.

Detroit Newspapers

A question on Detroit newspapers (Question 26) asked: "How do you feel about the Detroit newspapers taken as a whole—the *Times*, *Free Press*, and *News*?" Replies to this question rated the newspapers very high; the only subject covered in the interview that was given a higher rating was Wayne University. Only 2 per cent of the people included newspapers among the three activities it is most important to do something about in Detroit. The ratings of the newspapers were:

Very good	55%
Fairly good	40
Not good	3
Definitely bad	2

Ratings given by men and women were not significantly different. Likewise, the newspapers are rated approximately the same at all three socio-economic levels and by people with greater and less amounts of schooling. People who regularly read different newspapers also give closely similar ratings of the newspapers as a whole.

Ratings by Negroes, however, are considerably lower than those by whites. "Very good" ratings are given the newspapers by 57 per cent of the white population and by only 34 per cent of Negroes; "not good" and "definitely bad" ratings are given by 3 per cent of whites and by 16 per cent of Negroes. These Negro-white differences are accounted for

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almost entirely by the lower opinions of newspapers held by Negroes who have achieved middle socio-economic status and the better education that goes with it. Negroes at the lower economic and educational level rate Detroit newspapers very little worse than do white people. In the middle socio-economic group the percentage comparisons are these: "very good" ratings, by whites 57 per cent and by Negroes 20 per cent; ratings of "not good" and worse, by whites 3 per cent and by Negroes 23 per cent.

Comments about Detroit newspapers are classified as shown in Table 63. Only a minority of our respondents offered any critical suggestions when asked to state in what ways the papers should be better. A substantial number of persons directed their criticisms against one or another paper rather than referring to the three papers indiscriminately (though the question asked about the newspapers as a whole). The responses are classified in the table to show these separate opinions.

Table 63
Ways in Which Detroit Newspapers Are Considered
Not as Good as They Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 260 ways named by respondents*</i>	
Unfair, biased treatment of news		43%
Detroit newspapers in general	37%	
Particular newspapers named:		
A	3	
B	3	
C	0	
Sensational; exaggerated headlines; emphasis on crime and scandal		28
Detroit newspapers in general	15	
Particular newspapers named:		
A	13	
B	**	
C	0	
Inadequate or improper news coverage		8
Detroit newspapers in general	6	
Particular newspapers named:		
A	1	
B	0	
C	**	

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Too much advertising	3
Detroit newspapers in general	2
Particular newspapers named:	
A	0
B	**
C	0
Other (price, poor delivery, poor writers, bad taste, etc.; also indefinite, general condemnations)	18
Detroit newspapers in general	10
Particular newspapers named:	
A	6
B	1
C	1

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 260 comments were given by 227 people, for 33 of whom two ideas were coded.

**Less than one per cent.

It is apparent that charges of unfairness and bias comprise the largest single block of comments. In most responses, this refers to bias either against Negroes or against labor and in favor of business and wealthy people and the politically influential. The only other frequent category of criticisms has to do with exaggeration and use of sensational and "unfit" news stories "to boost circulation." More than 40 per cent of all the criticisms refer to unfairness or bias and nearly 30 per cent to sensationalism. One Detroit paper is especially singled out for criticism on the score of playing up scandals and sensational news. Other ideas expressed in the interview emphasize the lack of satisfactory news in general or in special directions such as local or international coverage; the publication of news that is trivial, confidential or otherwise undesirable to print; devoting too much space to advertising; editorial policies that are too conservative, etc.

Examples of the critical comments in regard to newspapers are listed below. Those contributed by Negro respondents are given separately since they help to explain the much poorer ratings of newspapers by Negroes than by whites.

Comments by Negro respondents

As far as writing about we colored folks, they discriminate. Of course, we have our own papers. Only thing they have about

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colored are killing and also sports. Colored don't have a chance in white papers.

Pertaining to Negroes they are not fair. They side with the whites and neglect the viewpoint of the Negroes entirely.

They still have the color line. They distinctly print "Negro" even if it is at the end of a column.

They label Negroes as such if some terrible incident occurred. They shouldn't do it.

They all have the same news in them, the papers are all for the big shots.

They present the news, [but] all three are timid about offending the powerful interests in the city.

Could be better. Shouldn't glamorize crime; do so to sell papers.

There is a lot of crime in the papers; think that is bad for children.

More current events and real international news should be given.

The papers as a whole play up to local scandals much too much.

They all print the bad things about us [Negroes] no matter how much good we try to do.

The newspapers are partial. They always print the city officials' viewpoints and forget the public is concerned.

Should stick to the facts; during the strikes they clearly favored the mayor. Hardly anything good was said about the union; the news was always given in such a way that the union was 100 per cent responsible for the strike.

Comments by white respondents

Actually the newspapers run the U. S. and I think they're biased in their views and opinions. I think Detroit papers have too much sentimentality and play up stories of an emotional nature.

They often print only that news that is in accordance with their own beliefs and interests.

Too damn Republican. They have editorials against the government and labor all over the paper.

They are restricted in what they can print. The politicians won't let them print everything.

They are pretty biased and prejudiced. They're too concerned with selling newspapers and not giving news.

Detroit could use a union newspaper—one that's favorable to the union.

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They take the part of the company I work for when I go out on strike, because the company pays them money in advertising and I don't give them any revenue. That's what I don't like about the newspapers.

They're not liberal enough. They fight the labor unions.

Make sensations out of some crimes that would be better kept quiet and out of public notice.

Too sensational and misleading in the headlines very often.

Believe the headlines are deceiving, often being too sensational and not true.

There are certain things they should not make front page news of. They are not progressive enough for a city this size. For a city of this size, they edit and write the papers as though it were a small town.

Not enough news about own city in papers.

More current event and real international news should be given. The papers as a whole play up to local scandals much too much.

Not enough world and too much local news. To me they are like small town papers, gossipy.

Here's one thing the newspapers do: they print things about the U. S. government plans that I think shouldn't be told, when there's a war on especially.

Too much advertisement—should have them once a week, not every day.

Editorial coverage is not complete enough. Not enough coverage of the news, can read the paper in five minutes.

I don't read them much, the news is given in such a dull way; usually listen to the radio.

Opportunities for Spare-Time Activities

The last of the specific aspects of Detroit life about which respondents were asked referred to opportunities for spare-time activities (Question 31). These activities were broadly defined in the question by specifying "playgrounds and parks, sports, music, theater, neighborhood meeting places, and all that kind of thing." The ratings people gave to this range of recreational opportunities place them fifth from the top among the fourteen elements of the city's life that were covered. Opinions of spare-time activities as a whole are definitely on the favorable side though fewer than half the people consider them "very good." The ratings are as follows:

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Very good	46%
Fairly good	41
Not good	11
Definitely bad	2

It should also be recalled that one person in five (just over 20 per cent) thinks that the improvement of opportunities for spare-time activities is among the few most important problems that Detroit should do something about. This turns out to be approximately the proportion of both men and women, whites and Negroes, and people at all three socio-economic levels. Only the oldest and youngest age groups voice less concern—only about 8 per cent of the people past sixty-five and 13 per cent of those between twenty-one and twenty-five.

For the most part, ratings of present recreational opportunities are also similar for different subdivisions of the population. Several significant differences are found, however. The high socio-economic group judges recreational opportunities in Detroit a little worse than do people at the middle and lower levels (21 per cent say "not good" or worse as compared to 11 per cent in the middle group and 10 per cent in the low group).

Newcomers to Detroit, it seems, have unusually good opinions of its recreational opportunities—probably by contrast with the opportunities in the smaller places from which they came. Among those who came since 1945, we find 59 per cent "very good" ratings while only 44 per cent of all other Detroiters give this high rating.

People of different ages and amounts of schooling show somewhat larger variations in their opinions of spare-time activities. In general, older respondents are better satisfied with Detroit's spare-time activities while those not yet middle-aged are less satisfied (58 per cent of those past sixty-five say "very good"; 48 per cent of those aged forty-five to sixty-four and only 42 per cent of those under forty-five give this rating). These age differences probably reflect the greater expectations and demands that younger people feel for adequate recreational facilities, both for themselves and for their young children.

The very youngest group, however, (those under twenty-five) present a partial exception to the above relationship—for they have a rather high percentage saying "very good" (51 per cent). On the other hand, they also have the greatest proportion of negative ratings—20 per cent saying "not good" or "definitely bad" in contrast to 12 per cent for all other age groups. This youngest group, in other words, tends more than others

ATTITUDES CONCERNING EACH OF FOURTEEN ACTIVITIES

to be either strongly satisfied or definitely dissatisfied about recreation in Detroit, with few saying "fairly good."

When groups having different amounts of education are compared, we find that the two extreme groups are the most dissatisfied with Detroit's opportunities for spare-time pursuits. The most unfavorable ratings are given by college graduates and next most unfavorable by people who did not go beyond the fourth grade of elementary school. For all the groups between these extremes, only slight differences exist. Thus, the "very good" rating is given by only 30 per cent of college graduates, by 42 per cent of fourth graders, and by 48 per cent of all others. Ratings of "not good" or worse are given by 18 per cent of college graduates, by 29 per cent of fourth grade people, and by only 11 per cent of all others. These results suggest that Detroit's recreational opportunities may be deficient in meeting the needs and desires of the best educated and the least educated residents.

The follow-up questions on recreation asked in what ways opportunities for spare-time activities are not as good as they should be and which spare-time activities especially need to be improved. Answers to the two questions are very similar, as can be seen in Tables 64 and 65.

Table 64
Ways in Which Spare-Time Activities Are Considered
Not as Good as They Should Be

	<i>Percentage of 404 ways named by respondents*</i>
Not enough playgrounds for children	42%
Not enough parks, neighborhood meeting places, pools, beaches and other recreational facilities	31
Need for more musical entertainment (symphony, band concerts, etc.)	6
Need for more plays; theaters	5
Not enough supervision of plays, beaches, etc.	3
Negroes taking over parks	3
Other	10

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 404 comments were given by 305 persons, for 99 of whom two ideas were coded.

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Table 65
Spare-Time Activities that People Believe Detroit
Especially Needs to Improve

	<i>Percentage of 637 ideas named by respondents*</i>
Playgrounds	45%
Parks	25
Neighborhood meeting places	7
Music	7
Teen-age centers	5
Theater	4
Sports (golf, basketball, tennis, etc.)	2
Other	5

*A maximum of two ideas per respondent. The 637 comments were given by 450 persons, for 187 of whom two ideas were coded.

It is apparent from these tabulations that what people have most on their minds in regard to recreational opportunities is the need for more playgrounds and parks. In addition, quite a few people point to other lacks—especially in respect to musical performances, theater, meeting and recreational places for teen-agers and adults.

The lack of playgrounds is emphasized more than average by the lower economic group and less than average by the upper group (low socio-economic status, 54 per cent; middle, 43 per cent; upper, 27 per cent). The lower income people also mention the need for parks more often than do those of higher economic status (lower level, 31 per cent; middle, 25 per cent; upper, 20 per cent). On the other hand, people of high economic status speak more frequently of the need for musical and theatrical activities (22 per cent as compared to 9 per cent for the middle group and 4 per cent for the low group). Little difference exists between the attitudes of men and women. However, women state slightly more frequently than do men that music and theater are not satisfactory in Detroit (15 per cent of women; 7 per cent of men).

Negroes as compared to whites criticize the lack of playgrounds (63 per cent by Negroes; 40 per cent by whites) and whites ask for more music and theater (12 per cent by whites and 2 per cent by Negroes). These relationships are similar when Negroes and whites are compared at the same socio-economic levels although the differences are not as great.

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Examples of the types of comments reported in Tables 64 and 65 are quoted in the following list:

The children don't have enough playgrounds; that's why they stay underfoot in the streets.

There could be more playgrounds. Every available inch of space is being taken up for dwellings but it seems to me that every area of five or six blocks should have a play center.

There should be more playgrounds with facilities for teaching sports or some things of value to the youth. Also more neighborhood places of recreation where the whole family could go as a unit.

They should do more on parks; gymnasiums for boys, teenagers, to keep them out of trouble.

There are not enough parks, and those we have are not taken care of.

They need more parks, so they will be nearer and easier to get to.

If you don't have a car, you just can't get to a swimming pool.

They need lots more pools like Rouge and Belle Isle. But look how far away they are.

Should be more recreation centers to keep the kids off the streets.

Maybe more centers where they could give children something to do, make and build things, especially in the winter.

Proper step in creating more [playgrounds] but should go even further—[need] more playgrounds. Would like to see waterfront completed, longer beach along Belle Isle, better beach along Lake St. Clair.

Not enough supervised recreation facilities from [ages] twelve to twenty-one. Teenage canteens started, were going well. What happened? Now they're gone! Kids asked for it on junior forum [radio program] but the city just replied they didn't have enough money. They could find it if they wanted to.

Property owners association in our neighborhood is trying to reorganize and have no place to meet. Should have more meeting places for groups about town.

We have nothing here. For the Negroes on the east side they build parks and swimming pools and everything. They spent thousands—maybe a million—dollars of *our* tax money. For the Negroes everything, for us nothing.

Keep the Negroes from some of the parks. Let them have a park of their own.

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Some areas have good facilities. But some others have none. That should be equalized. Usually the areas that don't need them, get them.

Wonder why Detroit doesn't attract the entertainment that you see and hear about on radio and television like New York and Chicago do. Why don't they come to Detroit?

Detroit is a movie town—not a music or theater town.

We don't have enough theaters either, legitimate theaters I mean, to attract good plays.

We should have more outdoor music, free music, so we can enjoy it, we poor people. Belle Isle music is all high class. Give us waltzes and marches.

Music—more band concerts in the city parks, where neighborhoods could enjoy them. I will always remember band night in old Cass Park.

And we should have another ball club in Detroit, National and American league both.

Activities are not diversified enough. Too much emphasis is placed on sports here.

Only a few words need be said in concluding this section of the report concerning educational and recreational activities. The outstanding fact is that Detroit people express highly favorable attitudes toward the city's schools, Wayne University and Detroit newspapers and moderately favorable attitudes in regard to recreational opportunities taken as a whole. Both the public schools and recreational facilities are nevertheless thought by many Detroiters (one in five) to be matters that are in important need of further improvement.

In respect to the schools and Wayne University, the chief criticisms have to do with crowded conditions and a variety of educational policies and practices that different respondents find objectionable. The most common charges against newspapers are that they handle news in an unfair, biased manner and that they overdo sensational stories, crimes and scandal. The outstanding complaints concerning opportunities for spare-time activities refer to the lack of enough playgrounds; parks, pools, and beaches; and public places for recreation and meetings. Significant minorities also emphasize the need for better musical and theatrical entertainment.

CHAPTER 6

Some Concluding Observations

THE PICTURE THAT has been sketched of Detroiters' attitudes contains little in the way of surprises. This is as it should be. If the findings contradicted the knowledge possessed by people who know the city, who have lived their lives here, it would be ground for grave suspicion of the survey. Part of the value of the findings comes in confirming impressions already held while at the same time making them more definite and clear.

But the survey of attitudes does more than this. Few people have had opportunity to mingle with the varied subdivisions of the city's population. All too easily, each of us assumes that he knows how the other half lives and feels. This knowledge too often rests on an insecure foundation of scattered observations and personal interpretation—either our own or those reported to us. As a consequence, different ones of us arrive at remarkably different ideas of the city and where its people stand. The survey results may help correct, expand, and balance such previous impressions.

The last sections of this report accent the criticisms of Detroit. This diagnosis of things wrong is necessary if the city is to know how best to work for improved civic health and strength. It is important to learn which problems concern Detroit citizens most. Which phases of the city's life are they dissatisfied with—and which do they find satisfactory? What specific faults do they think need remedy? Facts in answer to these questions were secured by the survey as an important part of what Detroiters think of Detroit.

But the *problems*, the dislikes and criticisms, are only one side. The survey also found that Detroit people *like* their city. Their prevalent satisfaction and approval were evident throughout the first half of the interview—as reported in the opening pages of this report.

Two broad conclusions emerge, then: (1) Detroiters view their city with favor, with strong accent on the positive side. (2) They nevertheless express dissatisfaction and concern over a number of the city's problems and they stress the need for important improvements—outstandingly in

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regard to housing and race relations but also for many other conditions in the city.

In addition, these two further conclusions grow out of the survey findings:

(3) Great numbers of Detroit citizens feel helpless and indifferent about changing their city. They have few ideas how things can be made better and little understanding of how they personally can play a part. Answers to many questions reveal limited horizons and lack of aroused civic interest. There is a challenging opportunity here for community leaders, organizations, and schools to build more enthusiastic outlooks in Detroit's citizens and more feeling of personal responsibility for Detroit's future.

(4) Deep differences of attitude divide Detroiters. Most notable are the differences on race relations and on labor-management relations. People accept different standards and seek conflicting goals in regard to the place of the Negro in Detroit life. Likewise they have different beliefs and loyalties depending on their jobs and incomes—and the greater or less education that goes with the economic position.

These two sources of disunity in the city appear and reappear throughout the survey. Other cleavages—by religions, nationality and regional groups—are important, too, but they showed up less prominently in the interviews.

On race and on economic group interests, major forces pull the community in opposed directions. Equal rights for Negroes versus segregation and discrimination. Policies demanded by organized labor versus policies advocated by industry—and changes desired by the poor versus those desired by the wealthy. If Detroit is to go forward to constructively solve its problems, it must plan and move at every step with a frank facing of these two sets of opposed views. Each is strongly supported among the people of the city.

The survey does not offer solutions to these problems. It does point to the clear facts that must be considered in order to arrive at satisfactory and workable solutions. Among the facts, probably none are more important than those concerning the division of loyalties, values and beliefs of Detroit people on race and on economic group interests.

These conclusions, together with all the other facts that have been summarized, portray the climate of opinion within which Detroit's efforts at civic improvement must proceed. On many points further research is

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needed. It is hoped that the present report will help stimulate more intensive studies of those problems on which it was possible to touch only lightly in this general survey. But even without further study, the information that has been obtained concerning attitudes in Detroit can be put to immediate use. It provides starting points and guide posts for all who are interested in pushing forward programs to make Detroit an even better city than it now is.

Appendixes

APPENDIX **A**

Interview Questions and Procedure

*The Question Schedule**

1. About how long have you lived in or around Detroit—or have you spent your whole life here?
 - a. Whole life -----
 - b. Years here-----
 2. (If answer is 1b) Where did you live most of your life before you came to Detroit?
State (or nation) -----
on a farm ----, in a small town ----, a medium-sized city ----,
a big city -----.
 3. Now as you have come to know Detroit, how do you feel about the city? I'm interested in hearing any things that you think about Detroit. (Hang on; as full answer as possible: In what way? How do you mean? What other feelings do you have about Detroit? What else? Etc.)
 4. Before we go into some other questions, now, and just speaking in general, would you say you like living in (around) Detroit or not?
Like ----- Not like ----- Quote:
(Based on 4, ask A5 and 6 or B5 and 6:)
- A. If mainly "like" or ambiguous:
- A5. What are the things you like most about living in (around) Detroit? (In what way? etc. What else do you like here?)
- A6. Now what are the main things you *don't* like about living here? (In what way? etc. What else do you dislike here?)

*The questions are reproduced exactly as they stood on the original schedule save that the space between questions, in which the interviewer recorded answers, has been omitted.

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B. If mainly "not like":

- B5. What are the main things you don't like about living in (around) Detroit? (In what way? etc. What else do you dislike here?)
- B6. Now what are the things you *like* most about living here? (In what way? etc. What else do you like here?)
7. What changes would you especially like to see made in Detroit? (In what way? How do you mean? What other changes?)
8. Do you think Detroit is a good city to raise a family in or not? (In what way? Why is that?)
9. Now I want to ask you a different kind of question. (Pause): What people do you think have most influence in Detroit; what people really run the city? (If several groups are given, ask which especially. If "officials," "big shots," "politicians," "rich people," "business," etc., ask: What people do you mean? For example? etc.)
10. Do you belong to any organization or clubs like these? (Show card No. 1* and ask about each item:) Do you belong to any -----? (For each group belongs to:) About how often do you go to meetings?

(On labor unions, ask: Is that AFL or CIO?)

<i>Group No.</i>	<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>To Meetings</i>
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11. People sometimes speak of being proud of their city or state the way they are proud of their country. Would you say you are proud of Detroit or not proud?

Proud ----- Not proud ----- Quote:

(If proud) In what way are you proud? What would you say there is about Detroit that you feel proud of?

(If not proud or doubtful, etc.) What would you say there is about Detroit that keeps you from feeling proud of it?

*Card No. 1 carried the following list of items:

1. Churches and church groups
2. Social clubs
3. Labor unions
4. Business clubs
5. Educational groups
6. Political organizations
7. Neighborhood improvement groups
8. Other groups and organizations

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12. Taking Detroit as a whole, how do you feel about the people here—those that have been here a long time and those that have come more recently? Would you say there are some who are especially desirable and good to have in the city? (Who? In what way?) Would you say there are some people who are undesirable and not good to have in the city? (Who? In what way?)
13. Now I want to ask you about work here around Detroit: In general what do you think of Detroit as a place to work?
14. If you (or your husband or the head of your family) were offered a job in some other large city, like Chicago, Cleveland, or Pittsburgh—a job as good as you have now or a little better—how would you feel about leaving Detroit? (If question arises, assume the job is permanent.)
15. Now would you please tell me a little about your own work: What kind of work do you do? (Be specific.)
What business or industry do you work in?
(If not covered) Do you work for yourself ----- or for someone else -----?

Questions 16A and B are for gainfully employed only:

16. Which of these four (hand card No. 2* and point to items) best describes how you feel about your job?
Very satisfied -----, fairly satisfied -----, rather dissatisfied -----, very dissatisfied -----.

(Then ask A1 and 2 or B1 and 2)

A. If "very" or "fairly" satisfied:

A1. What things do you like about your job? (Why? In what way? What other things do you like about your job?)

A2. Are there some things you don't like about your job? (In what way? etc.)

B. If "rather" or "very" dissatisfied:

B1. What things don't you like about your job? (Why? In what way? What other things don't you like about your job?)

B2. Are there some things you like about your job? (In what way? etc.)

*Card No. 2 carried the list:
Very satisfied
Fairly satisfied
Rather dissatisfied
Very dissatisfied

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17. (If R* is not head of family) What kind of work does your husband (or father or the head of the family) do?

What business or industry does he work in?

(If not covered) Does he work for himself ----- or for someone else -----?

18. Now I want to ask how you feel about a few things here in the city. On these next questions would you answer from this card (hand card No. 3**) Just say which one of the four answers best describes what you think.

Now using the card, how do you feel about the V. G. -----
Detroit public schools? F. G. -----

18a. (If "very good") Are there any ways the N. G. -----
 schools are not as good as they should be? Bad -----

(If other) In what ways are the schools
 not as good as they should be?

(How do you mean? Is there anything else
 about the schools?)

18b. Are there any children in your family now going to school
 in Detroit? *Public school?* yes -----, no -----
Other school? yes -----, no -----

Did you or anyone else in your family ever go to school
 in Detroit? *Public school?* yes -----, no -----
Other schools? yes -----, no -----

18c. (Ask 18c only if "yes" to "other school" on either part of
 18b)

You probably know the *parochial schools*,
 then.

V. G. -----

Using the card again, how do you feel
 about the parochial schools in Detroit?

F. G. -----

N. G. -----

(If "very good") Are there any ways
 the parochial schools are not as good as
 they should be?

Bad -----

(If other) In what ways are the parochial
 schools not as good as they should be?

*Respondent.

**Card No. 3 carried the list:

Very good
 Fairly good
 Not good
 Definitely bad

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AND PROCEDURES

19. Using the cards, how do you feel about V. G. -----
Wayne University? F. G. -----
 19a. (If "very good") Are there any ways N. G. -----
 Wayne University is not as good as it Bad -----
 should be?
 (If other) In what ways is Wayne not
 as good as it should be?
- 19b. Is anyone in your family now going to
 Wayne University? yes -----, no -----
 Did you or anyone else in your family
 ever go to Wayne? yes -----, no -----
20. Using the card, what do you think about the V. G. -----
 relations between *labor and management* in Detroit? F. G. -----
 20a. (If "very good") Are there any ways N. G. -----
 these relations are not as good as they Bad -----
 should be?
 (If other) In what ways are these relations
 not as good as they should be?
- 20b. Do you think relations between labor and
 management are getting better or worse in
 Detroit?
 Better ----- Worse ----- Quote:
 In what way?
- 20c. (If "better" or "worse" on 20b, ask 20c;
 if same or ambiguous, omit 20c)
 Do you think *labor* or *management* has
 done most to make the relations better
 (worse)? (How is that? How do you
 mean?)
 Labor ----- Management ----- Quote:
21. Again using the card, how do you feel about V. G. -----
industrial companies in Detroit—in their relations F. G. -----
 to the city and the people of the city? * N. G. -----
 (Ask A1 and 2 or B1 and 2) Bad -----
- 21a. If "very" or "fairly good":
 A1. In what ways do you think industrial
 companies do good?

*Interviewers were instructed to interchange questions 21 and 22 in successive interviews so that the order of the questions could not introduce any constant bias favoring either companies or unions.

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- A2. Are there any ways you think the industrial companies do harm?
- 21b. If "*not good*" or "*definitely bad*":
- B1. In what ways do you think industrial companies do harm?
- B2. Are there any ways you think the industrial companies do good?
- 21c. What things would you like to see industrial companies do in Detroit that they are not doing?
- 21d. What things do industrial companies do in Detroit that you feel they should not do?
22. Using the card again, how do you feel about *labor unions* in Detroit—in their relations to the city and the people of the city?
(Ask A1 and 2 or B1 and 2)
- | | |
|--|-------------|
| | V. G. ----- |
| | F. G. ----- |
| | N. G. ----- |
| | Bad ----- |
- 22a. If "*very*" or "*fairly good*":
- A1. In what ways do you think labor unions do good?
- A2. Are there any ways you think the unions do harm?
- 22b. If "*not good*" or "*definitely bad*":
- B1. In what ways do you think labor unions do harm?
- B2. Are there any ways you think the unions do good?
- 22c. What things would you like to see labor unions do in Detroit that they are not doing?
- 22d. What things do labor unions do in Detroit that you feel they should not do?
- 22e. (If union member—Q. 10) How active are you in your union? (In what ways? What do you do?)
- 22f. (Ask all) Are any of your family members of a labor union? yes -----, no -----.
- What persons? -----
- What unions (AFL, CIO, etc.) -----

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AND PROCEDURES

23. Still using the card, what do you think of the relations between *Negroes and whites* in Detroit? V. G. -----
F. G. -----
23a. (If "very good") Are there any ways N. G. -----
these relations are not as good as they Bad -----
should be?
(If other) In what ways are these relations not as good as they should be?
(How do you mean? Is there anything else about these relations?)
- 23b. Do you think Negro-white relations are getting better or worse in Detroit?
In what way?
- 23c. What do you yourself feel ought to be done about relations between Negroes and whites in Detroit?
24. Now I'd like to get your ideas about a few other things in the city—and we can run through these pretty fast. We'll keep on using the four ratings on the card.
- What do you think about the Detroit *city government*? V. G. -----
F. G. -----
- 24a. (If "very good") Are there any ways the N. G. -----
city government is not as good as it Bad -----
should be?
(If other) In what ways is the city government not as good as it should be?
- 24b. Do you feel that there is anything you can do to improve the way the city is run?
(What do you feel you can do? How do you mean?)
25. What about the bus and streetcar system (DSR)?
- 25a. (If "very good") Are there any ways the F. G. -----
system is not as good as it should be? N. G. -----
(If other) In what ways is the system not Bad -----
as good as it should be?
26. How do you feel about the Detroit newspapers taken V. G. -----
as a whole—the *Times*, *Free Press*, and *News*? F. G. -----
- 26a. (If "very good") Are there any ways the N. G. -----
newspapers are not as good as they should Bad -----
be?

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- (If other) In what ways are the newspapers not as good as they should be?
- 26b. Do you read any Detroit newspaper regularly? yes -----, no -----.
Which one? T ---- FP ---- N ----
27. How do you feel about the way the *need for housing* in Detroit is being handled? V. G. -----
F. G. -----
27a. (If "very good") Are there any ways the N. G. -----
need for housing is not being handled as Bad -----
well as it should be?
(If other) In what ways is the need for housing not being handled as well as it should be?
28. What about the way Detroit is dealing with *auto-mobile traffic and parking*? V. G. -----
F. G. -----
28a. (If "very good") Are there any ways that N. G. -----
traffic and parking are not being handled as Bad -----
they should be?
(If other) In what ways are traffic and parking not being handled as well as they should be?
29. How do you feel about city services like *garbage collection and street cleaning*? V. G. -----
F. G. -----
29a. (If "very good") Are there any ways N. G. -----
these services are not as good as they Bad -----
should be?
(If other) In what ways are these services not as good as they should be?
(Which of the services do you mean—garbage or street cleaning?)
30. What about the *Detroit Police Department*? V. G. -----
30a. (If "very good") Are there any ways the F. G. -----
Police Department is not as good as it N. G. -----
should be? Bad -----
(If other) In what ways is the Police Department not as good as it should be?

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31. Here is a last point about the city: How do you feel about the opportunities for *spare-time activities*—playgrounds and parks, sports, music, theatre, neighborhood meeting places, and all that kind of thing?
- V. G. -----
F. G. -----
N. G. -----
Bad -----

31a. (If "very good") Are there any ways the opportunities for these activities are not as good as they should be?
(If other) In what ways are the opportunities for these activities not as good as they should be?

31b. Which of these spare-time activities does Detroit especially need to improve—playgrounds and parks, sports, music, theatres, neighborhood meeting places, or what?

(Show card No. 4a or 4b,* alternating these; check the one used.)

32. Now here is a list of all the things I have been asking about. Would you read it over and pick out the 3 things you feel it is *most important* to do something about in Detroit? Please go all the way through the list before you decide. (Record by checking the 3 items.)

32a. Which of the 3 would you say is the *most* important to do something about? (Record with a "1" beside the check mark.)

Now would you give me just a few facts so that we can know something about the people we have talked to—

How many grades of school did you finish? (Circle highest completed) 1 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16

*Card No. 4a carried the list shown below in that order; Card No. 4b carried the same items but with the first and second half of the list interchanged.

Schools
Wayne University
Labor-management relations
Activities of labor unions
Activities of industrial companies
Negro-white relations
Bus and streetcar system

City government
Detroit newspapers
Housing needs
Automobile traffic and parking
Garbage collection and street cleaning
Police Department
Spare-time activities

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Do you own your home ----- or rent -----? Do you own a car?
Y ----- N ----- Yr. ----- Make -----

Do you own a TV set? Y ----- N -----

Is your church preference Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish? P -----
C ----- J ----- None ----- Other -----

And what nationality were your parents, that is: What country was
your father born in? ----- Your mother? -----

In elections do you usually vote for Republican or Democratic candi-
dates? R ----- D ----- other ----- non-voter -----

Are you married ----- single ----- widowed -----
separated ----- or divorced -----

Your age group: 21-24 ----- 25-34 ----- 35-44 -----
45-54 ----- 55-64 ----- 65 up -----

By interviewer:

Sex: M ----- F ----- Race: W ----- N ----- Other -----

Estimated economic level: A B C D.

No. [Address] -----

Interviewer ----- Date -----

The Interview Procedure

The interviewing staff was carefully trained in the use of the question schedule. The thirty-three interviewers were mainly college students (men and women) from the departments of psychology and sociology at Wayne University, and to these were added a number of women experienced as interviewers with other survey agencies. Each interviewer received detailed instructions and full explanation of the uniform procedures to be followed in introducing and conducting the interview. The oral and written instructions were then applied in practice interviews with follow-up training as needed.

Questions were to be asked exactly as they stand and permissible forms of supplementary or probing questions were carefully prescribed. The interview aimed to obtain full responses by encouraging additional comments and clarifications, but with no prompting or use of leading suggestions that might plant ideas in the respondent's thinking. As the respondent talked, the interviewer recorded everything he said, as completely as possible, in his own words.

The interviews averaged about one hour in length.

White respondents were interviewed by white interviewers and Negro respondents by Negro interviewers.

The Population Sample

The Sample Design and Procedure

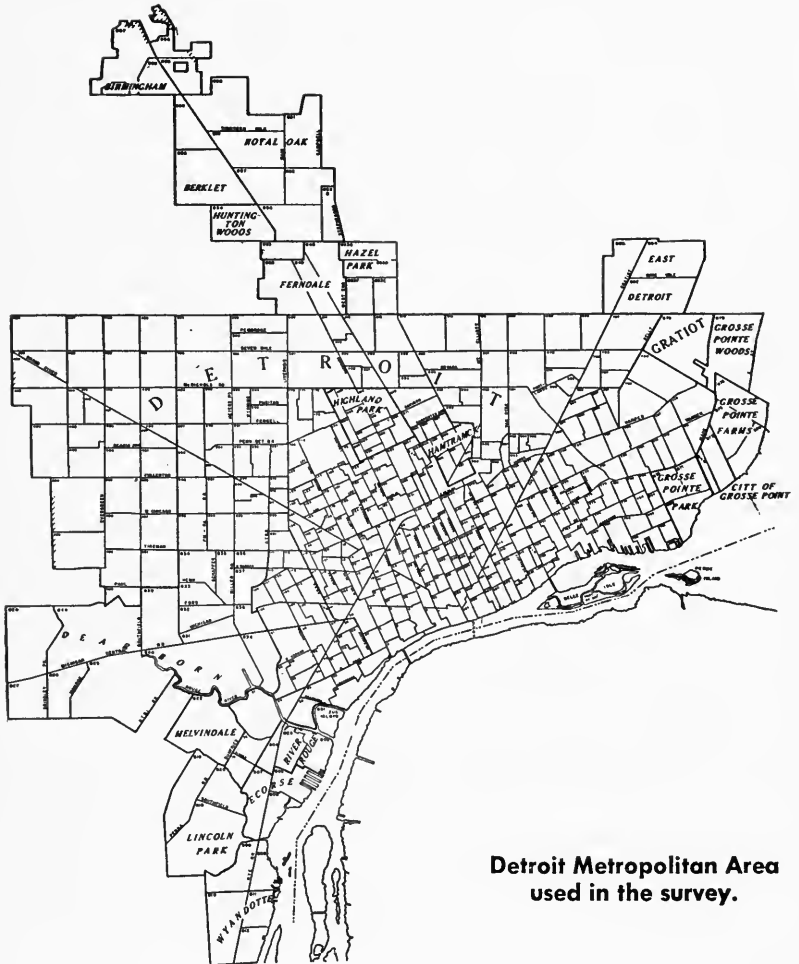
As the object of the study was to ascertain attitudes of Detroiters towards Detroit, it was necessary to define those places in which people consider themselves Detroiters. A simple method would be to include only the political limits of the city itself. This, however, is somewhat unrealistic, for persons in many of the residential suburbs consider themselves residents of Detroit and actively participate in Detroit affairs. This is even more true in the case of the two enclosed cities, Highland Park and Hamtramck. Since we do not know in which suburbs people feel themselves a part of the city, and in which suburbs they do not share this feeling, a somewhat arbitrary criterion had to be employed as to inclusion or exclusion of nearby suburbs. It was decided that the number of persons per square mile, or population density, would serve to define those areas immediately outside the city limits that are sufficiently urban to be considered an integral part of Metropolitan Detroit for purposes of the present survey.

Accordingly, densities of all small subdivisions of the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Area were plotted on a map. Inspection of these densities indicated that 3500 persons per square mile seemed to be a critical density. That is, the density of the small areas was either 3500 per square mile or more, or it was a great deal less. The map (Fig. 1) shows the configuration thus selected. The total number of persons living in this area was 2,344,172. Of this number 1,838,517 lived within the municipal boundaries of Detroit, and 505,655 resided in the suburban areas.

The number of persons to be interviewed was set at 600. Further, it was decided that the interviews should be distributed to provide a cross section "probability sample" of the population. The important principle in the selection of the sample is *to give every adult in the Detroit area an equal chance of being selected and interviewed*. The entire sample design is directed towards the attainment, insofar as possible, of this end.

Individuals are the ultimate sampling unit; but in the absence of a list of individuals, the household, or more precisely the dwelling unit,

FIGURE 1



**Detroit Metropolitan Area
used in the survey.**

THE POPULATION SAMPLE

must serve as the basis for locating the individuals to be selected. As dwelling units themselves are stationary and their numbers change relatively slowly, an accurate listing of dwelling units in a given area at a given time can usually be obtained. From this listing of dwelling units, a random sample of any size can be drawn. From the dwelling units which have been drawn, adults can be randomly selected. To perform this task in this particular instance, we had at our command a number of items of information which not only facilitated, but to an extent dictated, the method of selection. These items of information were as follows:

- (a) 1950 population and dwelling units by census tract.
- (b) 1940 block statistics showing the number of dwelling units in each census tract by blocks.
- (c) Aerial photographs of the Metropolitan Area furnished through the courtesy of the Detroit Edison Company.
- (d) Block maps of portions of the Metropolitan Area.

The sample developed made maximum use of these items of information.

The sample was a probability sample of the area type, in which selection was made by a random process so that each respondent's chance for inclusion is known. The sampling operation was performed in the following four steps:

1. A sample of census tracts was selected.
2. Within each selected census tract, sample blocks were selected.
3. Within each block, sample dwelling units were selected.
4. Within each dwelling unit, a person 21 years of age or over was selected.

The procedure followed at each of these four steps will be briefly described.

1. The sampling design specified that the 600 interviews should be obtained at approximately 150 different sampling blocks, that is, four interviews per block (actually, as explained later, per "super-block" consisting of two blocks). In order to secure four interviews per block, five dwelling units were actually selected for the sample. The assumption was that a certain percentage could not be induced to respond or would not be contacted even after repeated callbacks. Accordingly a larger number of households (735 instead of 600) was selected—and correspondingly this meant that 147 census tract sampling points were to be selected.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

In selecting the sample of census tracts, a number of strata were developed. This process of stratification by number of dwelling units per census tract increased the accuracy of the sample. First, census tracts within the City of Detroit, including Highland Park and Hamtramck, were grouped into one stratum. Second, census tracts outside the city limits were grouped in one stratum. These basic strata were further divided into five strata within Detroit and five strata outside of Detroit based on the number of dwelling units in each tract. Thus, there were ten strata, five within the City of Detroit and five outside the City of Detroit. The number of dwelling units to be included in the sample from each stratum was made proportional to the number of dwelling units within the strata.* Within each of these strata the tracts to be used in the sample were selected by use of a table of random numbers.

2. The 1940 census of block statistics listed and numbered the blocks within the census tracts in most of the areas to be covered in the present survey.** Block maps were obtained for the remaining census tracts located outside of Detroit. Each block was given a number and listed in the same way as were the census tracts in the block statistics. The sample blocks were drawn by taking from a table of random numbers one number between one and the total number of dwelling units in the tract. For example, if a census tract contained 2,648 dwelling units, a random number between one and 2,648 was drawn. Let us say that the number drawn was 1,506. Then the number of dwelling units in each listed block was cumulated on an adding machine, and the block in which the 1,506th dwelling unit fell was the sample block selected.

The efficiency of this method depends on the correspondence between the number of dwelling units actually located in each block in 1950 and the 1940 block statistics. In the case of those areas outside the city where the blocks were numbered from recent maps and the number of dwelling units in each block was determined from aerial photographs,

* A departure was made from strict proportionality as between Detroit and the outlying suburbs. While they contain 17 per cent of all dwelling units in the metropolitan area covered, for purposes of our sample they were assigned only 14 per cent of the interviews. Our sample thus gives slightly heavier representation to Detroit (including Highland Park and Hamtramck) than to the surrounding area.

***Sixteenth Census of the United States: Housing*. Supplement to the First Series "Housing Bulletin for Michigan." "Detroit, Highland Park, Hamtramck, Dearborn Block Statistics" (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942).

the method was most efficient. In the case of many of the Detroit, Highland Park, Dearborn, and Hamtramck census tracts, the number of dwelling units changed little in ten years. However, a number of Detroit census tracts had greatly increased numbers of dwelling units in 1950 as compared with 1940. The number of dwelling units in each block in 1940 did not correspond with the number actually there in 1950. We knew, however, how many dwelling units were added in the total tract in the ten years between 1940 and 1950. By means of field work and some recent maps, as well as knowledge of the type of housing (number of dwelling units per block), the number of dwelling units in each block in 1950 was estimated. The selection of the sample block was made then in the same manner as described above.

3. After the sample block was selected, the next step was to select the dwelling units to be enumerated. In accord with the suggestions of members of the sampling staff of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan, a second block, one block removed from the first, was added as part of each sample point. The five designated dwelling units were then drawn from these two blocks taken together. The process of selecting dwelling units was as follows: We determined the number of dwelling units in the super-block and divided this total by five. Then, using a table of random numbers, we chose a dwelling unit within the first fifth and other dwelling units at regular intervals in the remaining four-fifths of the block. For example, if the block contained 106 dwelling units, a random number between 1 and 21 was drawn. Let us say dwelling unit No. 13 was the number: then the dwelling units selected were 13; $34(13 + 21)$; $55(13 + 2 \times 21)$; $76(13 + 3 \times 21)$; $97(13 + 4 \times 21)$.

4. Selection of the respondent within the household was accomplished in a random manner leaving no choice to the enumerator in the selection process. Upon entering the household, the enumerator asked first the number, sex, and age of adults (21 and over) residing in that household. These persons were listed according to sex and then age. The interviewer then consulted a previously prepared table* that told him which numbered adult must be interviewed in that household. No substitutions were permitted. If repeated callbacks failed to secure an inter-

*For a complete explanation of the procedure see L. Kish, "A Procedure for Objective Respondent Selection within the Household," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 44 (1949), 380-387.

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view with the one designated person, this assigned interview was simply recorded as uncompleted.

Check on Accuracy of the Sample

Of the 735 potential interviews provided for in the sample, 593 or 81 per cent were completed. The 19 per cent not completed are accounted for by persons who could not be contacted even after four or five attempts, persons who refused to be interviewed, persons too ill to be interviewed, and foreigners who could not speak English and where no interpreter could be found.

The important question to be answered is whether the 593 persons interviewed constitute a representative cross-section of the entire population. The accuracy of the sample is subject to some error both because of possible differences between persons included in the 81 per cent and those comprising the other 19 per cent and also because of "sampling errors" which are present in any limited sample from a larger population and which would apply here even to our total of 735 cases.

While perfect accuracy consequently cannot be expected, it is necessary to examine whatever evidence is available to indicate the extent of error. For this purpose we have compared the data from our sample with corresponding United States Census figures for the entire population of the area covered. Preliminary releases of the Seventeenth Census* contain data reasonably comparable to those obtained in this survey. A number of adjustments had to be made to effect comparability, but these adjustments were of a minor nature involving changes of less than 1 per cent. The items selected are the only points where data collected in the survey were comparable with published Census data.

The percentage comparisons in Table IA reveal rather close correspondence between the survey data and the figures for the total population. To the extent that this is true, it lends support to the conclusion that our sample is representative of Detroit people as a whole, subject to no large systematic errors but only to the measurable errors of sampling.

**Housing Characteristics of the Detroit, Mich., Standard Metropolitan Area: April 1, 1950*, "1950 Census of Housing Preliminary Reports," Series HC-3, No. 17 (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, June 14, 1951); *Characteristics of the Population of the Detroit, Mich., Standard Metropolitan Area: April 1, 1950*, "1950 Census of Population Preliminary Reports," Series PC-5, No. 17 (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, May 11, 1951).

THE POPULATION SAMPLE

Table 1A

Comparison of the Survey Sample with the Total Population Reported by the United States Census

	<i>Detroit Survey</i>	<i>1950 Census</i>
Owner Occupied Dwelling Units	60%	60%
Tenant Occupied Dwelling Units	40	40
Male	47	48
Female	53	52
Age Distribution		
21-24	6	9
25-34	25	26
35-44	25	22
45-54	21	20
55-64	16	14
65 and over	7	9
Major Occupational Groups		
Managerial, executive, owner	11	9
Professional	9	9
White Collar	22	22
Skilled	19	19
Semi-skilled, unskilled, other	39	41
Inside Detroit (including Highland Park and Hamtramck)*	86	83
Outside Detroit	14	17
Race		
White	89	86
Non-white	11	14

*If the two municipalities that lie within Detroit (Highland Park and Hamtramck) are counted as suburbs, the above figures change to the following: Census proportions, 78 per cent in Detroit proper and 22 per cent outside; Detroit survey, 83 per cent in Detroit and 17 per cent outside.

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	<i>Survey</i>	<i>1940 Census*</i>
Residence within census tracts of different median rentals (1940 data)		
Under \$25.00	14	19
\$25 to \$29.99	14	14
\$30 to \$34.99	21	16
\$35 to \$44.99	30	26
\$45 and over	21	25
Median rental	\$35.33	\$35.38

*Corresponding figures for 1950 were not yet available.

Coding and Analysis: Construction of Indices

Most of the questions used in the interview were of the free response type. Consequently a difficult and time consuming phase of the research procedure consisted in coding or classifying the varied qualitative responses in order that the frequencies of different ideas could be tabulated and quantitatively related to other data. Replies to each question were examined in order to construct classifications that would adequately cover the ideas expressed. The categories were thus derived from the response material rather than being imposed upon it—but once the tentative classifications were arrived at, they were refined and systematized to provide an orderly method for summarizing the responses.

The most extensive code—that for the free-answer questions about what the respondents think of Detroit and what they like and dislike—grew into ninety separate categories. These were subsequently grouped into fourteen major categories with subdivisions, as reported in Table 14. Answers to other questions could readily be coded into a much smaller number of categories.

Sometimes, a simple scale of replies suggested itself, usually in addition to the qualitative classification. For example, answers to the general question regarding feelings about the city (Question 3) were rated in terms of their total content into five categories running from "strongly favorable" to "strongly unfavorable," as reported in Table 1. A similar but more simplified rating was used for responses about Detroit as a place "to raise a family" (Question 8).

An extension of this scalar coding to cover responses given to several related questions is illustrated in the classification of people's willingness to accept Negroes. The coder read through all the person's responses in which a reference to Negroes occurred and then classified the combined comments as indicating full acceptance of Negroes with equal rights, as opposed to full acceptance, or as ambiguous or unclassifiable.

All the coded responses were punched on IBM cards for tabulation and analysis. Each respondent's replies required three cards. From these cards, we derived several hundred tables, basic and secondary—which constitute the statistical foundation for the entire report.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

The report makes use of two formal indices that require a little further explanation, one an index of general favorableness-unfavorableness toward Detroit (pages 8 to 10), the other an index of socio-economic status (page 12). Both of these classifications of respondents are based on cross-tabulations of data that had already been placed on the punch-cards.

The favorableness-unfavorableness categories are based on responses to six questions. For purposes of combining the responses into a single measure of the individual's overall attitude toward Detroit, the responses to each question were counted as either favorable or unfavorable, as follows:

	<i>Responses counted as:</i>	
	<i>Favorable</i>	<i>Unfavorable</i>
Q. 3 on feelings toward Detroit— rating of responses	Neutral or favorable	Unfavorable
Q. 4 on like living in Detroit or not	Like	Not like
Q. 11 on proud of Detroit or not	Proud	Not proud
Q. 8 on Detroit as a place to raise a family	Good	Not good
Q. 13 on Detroit as a place to work	Good (above average) or very good	Fair, doubt- ful, or not good
Q. 14 on feeling about leaving Detroit	Moderately or strongly un- willing to leave	Not mind leaving or glad to leave

On the basis of answers grouped in this manner, a four-point index was constructed:

Strongly favorable. Not unfavorable on any of the six questions and definitely, positively favorable on at least three of the four questions that permitted degrees of favorableness.

Favorable. Not unfavorable on any of the six questions, but not definitely, positively favorable on more than two of the four questions that permitted degrees of favorableness.

Not consistently favorable. Definitely unfavorable on one of the six questions.

Somewhat unfavorable. Definitely unfavorable on two or more of the six questions.

CODING AND ANALYSIS: CONSTRUCTION OF INDICES

The socio-economic index was based on three items—occupation of the respondent (or if not a working person, on occupation of the head of the household), the median rental of the census tract in which the respondent lives, and the interviewer's rating of the socio-economic level of the home and neighborhood. Interviewer's ratings were on a four-point scale, from A (high) to D (low). Each level was described for the interviewers in order to give them approximately equivalent standards. The three variables listed were combined to define three socio-economic levels, as follows:

High socio-economic:

All respondents in homes rated A by interviewer

Respondents in homes rated B—

If they were also in the three top occupational categories (owners and managers, professional, upper white collar) and

If they also lived in districts above the two lowest median rental levels (of the five levels into which we had classified median rentals).

If the occupational category was unknown or ambiguous but the person lived in one of the two top median rental levels.

Low socio-economic:

All respondents in homes rated D by interviewers

Respondents in homes rated C—

If they were also in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations or if the occupational category was unknown, and

If they lived in one of the two lowest median rental levels.

Middle socio-economic:

All respondents not in the high or low socio-economic groups described above.

Descriptive Characteristics of Detroit Population as Found in the Survey Sample

Those population characteristics of our survey respondents that could be checked against Census data were reported in Appendix B. In addition, the survey elicited a number of other descriptive data that are not available in Census materials. These data pertain to political preferences, religion, newspaper readership, length of residence in Detroit, place of previous residence, and many other matters. In the tables that follow the portions of this descriptive material that may be of general interest are summarized and a number of significant cross-relationships are shown.

Table 2A

Occupations of Heads of Families*

Owners and managers	10%
Professional, semi-professional	7
Upper white collar	11
Lower white collar	6
Skilled, manufacturing	13
Skilled, other	7
Semi- and unskilled, manufacturing	24
Semi- and unskilled other	10
Not gainfully employed; unclassified	12
	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	593

*For this tabulation where the respondent was not the head of the family, the occupation of the family member who was the head was used.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DETROIT POPULATION

Table 3A
Education of Respondents

0 - 4th grade	5%
5 - 7th grade	11
8th grade	18
9 - 11th grade	20
High school graduate	28
Some college	8
College graduate	10
	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	586

Table 4A
Education of Employed Respondents
in Relation to Occupation

	<i>Manager, owner</i>	<i>Profes- sional, semi-pro.</i>	<i>Upper white collar</i>	<i>Lower white collar</i>	<i>Skilled</i>	<i>Semi- and un- skilled</i>
8th grade or less	24%	3%	8%	11%	44%	52%
Some high school	21	—	2	24	21	25
High school graduate	26	7	54	47	22	19
Some college or more	29	90	36	18	13	4
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	38	30	39	38	63	125

Table 5A
Education in Relation to Socio-Economic
Status of Respondents

	<i>Socio-economic status:</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
8th grade or less	7%	36%	55%
Some high school	13	20	25
High school graduate	40	28	18
Some college or college graduate	40	16	2
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	107	374	105

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Table 6A

Country of Birth of Respondents' Parents	
Both parents born in the U.S.	46%
One parent born in the U.S., the other Eastern Europe*	1
Both parents born in Eastern Europe	17
One parent born in the U.S., the other Western Europe*	3
Both parents born in Western Europe	13
One parent born in the U.S., the other in the British Commonwealth (except Canada)	3
Both parents born in the British Commonwealth (except Canada)	7
One parent born in the U.S., the other in Canada; both parents born in Canada	6
Other	4
	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	582

*Western Europe here includes the Scandinavian countries (including Finland), Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and all west of these; all east of these are included in Eastern Europe.

Table 7A

Marital Status of Respondents	
Married	80%
Single	7
Widowed	10
Separated	1
Divorced	2
	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	587

CHARACTERISTICS OF DETROIT POPULATION

Table 8A

Church Preference of Respondents

Protestant	52%
Catholic	36
Jewish	5
None	5
Other	2
	<hr/>
	100%
Number of people	587

Table 9A

Relationship between Socio-economic Status and Religion of Respondents

<i>Socio-economic status:</i>	<i>Protestant</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Jewish</i>	<i>Other, none</i>
High	22%	9%	45%	17%
Middle	62	72	52	40
Low	16	19	3	43
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of people	308	210	29	40

Table 10A

Socio-economic Status of Respondents by Race

<i>Socio-economic status:</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>Total</i>
High	20%	—	18%
Middle	65	52	64
Low	15	48	18
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100%	100%	100%
Number of people	530	63	593

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 10A—Supplement

Home Ownership by Race

	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Owns Home	64%	30%
Rents	36	70
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	513	60

Table 11A

Education of Respondents by Race

	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
8th grade or less	34%	37%
Some high school	19	28
High school graduate	28	26
Some college	9	6
College graduate	10	3
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	524	62

Table 12A

Occupations of Employed Respondents by Race

	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Manager, owner	12%	2%
Professional and semi-professional	9	5
Upper white collar	13	—
Lower white collar	12	5
Skilled	19	20
Semi- and unskilled	35	68
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	309	40

CHARACTERISTICS OF DETROIT POPULATION

Table 13A

Length of Residence in Detroit

	<i>Number of persons</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Whole life in Detroit	163	28%
Came to Detroit		
Before 1920	118	20
1920-1929	113	19
1930-1939	72	12
1940-1945	58	10
1946-1951	66	11
Total	590	100%

Table 14A

Year of Arrival in Detroit and Location of Community in Which Previously Lived

	<i>Came to Detroit</i>					
	<i>Before 1920</i>	<i>1920- 1929</i>	<i>1930- 1939</i>	<i>1940- 1940</i>	<i>Since 1945</i>	<i>Total</i>
Michigan	19%	17%	21%	16%	8%	17%
Northeast U. S.	32	36	35	27	34	33
Southern U. S.	8	17	31	44	35	24
Remainder of U. S.	6	4	6	9	5	6
Canada	7	12	2	2	5	6
Foreign—other	28	14	5	2	13	14
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of people	108	102	65	55	62	392

For whites only:

Michigan	21%	19%	27%	22%	10%	20%
Northeast U. S.	33	39	45	37	40	38
Southern U. S.	2	10	14	27	22	12
Remainder of U. S.	5	4	6	10	6	6
Canada	8	13	2	2	6	7
Foreign—other	31	15	6	2	16	17
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of people	98	94	51	41	50	334

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 15A

Year of Arrival in Detroit and Size of Community in Which Previously Lived

	<i>Came to Detroit</i>					<i>Total</i>
	<i>Before 1920</i>	<i>1920- 1929</i>	<i>1930- 1939</i>	<i>1940- 1945</i>	<i>Since 1945</i>	
Farm	14%	19%	3%	12%	10%	12%
Small town	44	43	51	46	37	44
Medium-sized city	27	26	28	33	30	29
Big city	15	12	18	9	23	15
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of people	110	106	71	58	62	407
For whites only:						
Farm	15%	19%	4%	16%	10%	14%
Small town	43	42	43	50	34	42
Medium-sized city	28	26	31	27	30	28
Big city	14	13	22	7	26	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of people	101	98	55	44	50	348

Table 16A

Relationship between Socio-economic Status and Political Party Preference

<i>Socio-economic status:</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Independent</i>	<i>Non-voter</i>
High	37%	9%	—	23%	8%
Middle	54	69	89	69	55
Low	9	22	11	8	37
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of people	118	249	9	115	76
Per cent of 567 people responding	21%	44%	2%	20%	13%

CHARACTERISTICS OF DETROIT POPULATION

Table 17A

Relationship of Political Party Preference to Socio-Economic Status and Church Preference

<i>Socio-economic status:</i>		<i>Protestant</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Other</i>
High	Republican	65%	22%	—
	Democrat	3	50	55
	Independent, other	27	17	40
	Non-voter	5	11	5
		<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
	Number of people	60	18	20
Middle	Republican	24%	11%	10%
	Democrat	43	53	48
	Independent, other	23	25	21
	Non-voter	10	11	21
		<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
	Number of people	183	151	29
Low	Republican	18%	3%	6%
	Democrat	45	66	50
	Independent, other	12	8	6
	Non-voter	25	23	38
		<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
	Number of people	49	55	18

Table 18A

Relationship of Political Preference to Race

	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Republican	23%*	6%
Democrat	41	64
Other	1	6
Independent	23	—
Non-voter	12	24
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	504	63

*Even if only those white respondents are considered who live in districts at the three lower median rental levels (i.e., at levels comparable to those of the Negroes), they still show a considerably higher percentage of Republicans than do the Negroes—namely, 19 per cent versus 6 per cent.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 19A
Car Ownership and Value According
to Socio-Economic Status

<i>Ownership:</i>	<i>Socio-economic status:</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>	
Yes	91%	70%	46%	70%
No	9	30	54	30
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	104	366	106	576
<i>Value of car:*</i>				
\$3,000 and up	9%	4%	8%	6%
\$2,000 - 2,999	27	18	3	18
\$1,000 - 1,999	41	25	26	29
Under \$1,000, but not pre-war	20	30	18	26
Pre-war	3	23	45	21
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	95	258	49	402

*Car value was determined by reference to the official estimates for each make and year of automobile, published in the *Red Book National Used Car Market Report*, Vol. 40, No. 177 (Region A) (Chicago: National Used Car Market Report, Inc., 1951).

Table 20A
Memberships in Organizations
by Socio-Economic Status

	<i>Socio-economic status:</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>	
Church only	12%	21%	32%	22%
Church and one other organization	25	20	14	20
Church and two or more other organizations	32	14	4	15
Not church but one other	6	14	24	14
Not church but two or more others	6	7	2	6
No organization	19	24	24	23
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	106	375	106	587

CHARACTERISTICS OF DETROIT POPULATION

Table 21A

Television Ownership According to Socio-Economic Status

	<i>Socio-economic status:</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>	
Yes	73%	59%	34%	57%
No	27	41	66	43
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of People	92	330	94	516

Table 22A

Relationship of Socio-Economic Status and Particular Newspaper(s) Read*

	<i>Socio-economic status:</i>			<i>Total</i>
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>	
<i>Detroit Times</i>	28%	46%	70%	47%
<i>Detroit Free Press</i>	58	41	23	41
<i>Detroit News</i>	78	61	28	59
Number of people	103	353	90	546

*Percentages in this table are based on the number of people at each socio-economic level who read Detroit newspapers. Since some people read more than one newspaper, percentages do not total 100.

Table 23A

Relationship of Education and Particular Newspaper(s) Read*

	<i>8th grade or less</i>	<i>Some high school</i>	<i>High school graduate</i>	<i>Some college or more</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Detroit Times</i>	53%	61%	42%	29%	47%
<i>Detroit Free Press</i>	32	31	46	60	41
<i>Detroit News</i>	50	48	64	79	59
Number of people	174	109	159	102	544

*Percentages in this table are based on the number of people at each educational level who read Detroit newspapers. Since some people read more than one newspaper, percentages do not total 100.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 24A

Relationship of Education and Number of Newspapers Read

	<i>8th grade or less</i>	<i>Some high school</i>	<i>High school graduate</i>	<i>Some college or more</i>	<i>Total</i>
None	12%	5%	3%	3%	7%
One	62	64	58	44	58
Two	21	25	29	40	27
Three	5	6	10	13	8
	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%	<hr/> 100%
Number of people	197	115	164	105	581

APPENDIX **E**

*Supplementary Tables on Attitudes of
Detroit People*

Several extensive tabulations of attitudes showing important cross-relationships were omitted from the body of the report to facilitate the presentation. These tables comprise Appendix E. Reference is made to these tables at appropriate points in the text.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 25A

Ratings of Fourteen Detroit Activities by Men and Women

		Per cent giving each rating:					Number of Persons Rating
	Sex	Average Rating*	Very Good	Fairly Good	Not Good	Defi- nitely Bad	
Wayne University	Male	3.61	65%	30%	4%	1%	191
	Female	3.64	67	31	2	—	208
Detroit newspapers	Male	3.45	52	42	4	2	255
	Female	3.52	57	40	2	1	299
Activities of indus- trial companies	Male	3.42	49	45	4	2	257
	Female	3.41	45	52	3	**	269
Public schools	Male	3.34	46	44	7	3	233
	Female	3.38	46	48	5	1	283
Spare-time activities	Male	3.35	49	39	11	1	265
	Female	3.28	43	44	11	2	291
Police Department	Male	3.35	52	37	6	5	263
	Female	3.25	44	44	6	6	288
Detroit city gov- ernment	Male	3.05	29	54	10	7	252
	Female	3.04	24	61	11	4	276
Activities of labor unions	Male	3.02	27	52	17	4	253
	Female	2.88	23	48	22	7	266
Automobile traffic and parking	Male	2.71	27	36	19	18	251
	Female	2.83	26	45	16	13	291
Labor-management relations	Male	2.75	12	58	24	6	263
	Female	2.61	8	54	28	10	269
Garbage collection, street cleaning	Male	2.65	26	32	22	20	248
	Female	2.71	27	36	19	18	288
Negro-white relations	Male	2.49	5	54	27	14	262
	Female	2.55	9	48	32	11	298
Handling of Housing needs	Male	2.54	16	38	30	16	250
	Female	2.38	12	34	35	19	273
Bus and streetcar system; DSR	Male	2.30	12	35	24	29	259
	Female	2.36	12	37	27	24	301

* Average obtained by calling "Definitely Bad" = 1, "Not Good" = 2, "Fairly Good" = 3, "Very Good" = 4.

** Less than ½%.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES ON ATTITUDES OF DETROITERS

Table 26A

Ratings of Fourteen Detroit Activities by Whites and Negroes

	Race	Average Rating*	Per cent giving each rating:				Number of Persons Rating
			Very Good	Fairly Good	Not Good	Defi- nitely Bad	
Wayne University	White	3.63	66%	30%	4%	**	353
	Negro	3.67	67	33	—	—	46
Detroit newspapers	White	3.53	57	40	2	1	498
	Negro	3.12	34	50	11	5	56
Activities of indus- trial companies	White	3.42	47	49	3	1	471
	Negro	3.42	45	51	4	—	55
Public schools	White	3.38	47	45	6	2	461
	Negro	3.20	38	49	7	6	55
Spare-time activities	White	3.31	46	41	11	2	496
	Negro	3.30	43	45	10	2	60
Police Department	White	3.42	53	39	5	3	495
	Negro	2.39	11	47	11	31	62
Detroit city gov- ernment	White	3.06	26	59	10	5	470
	Negro	2.95	29	47	14	10	58
Activities of labor unions	White	2.87	22	50	22	6	459
	Negro	3.48	53	42	5	—	60
Automobile traffic and parking	White	2.76	25	41	19	15	484
	Negro	2.88	36	35	10	19	58
Labor-management relations	White	2.64	9	55	28	8	480
	Negro	2.91	17	62	16	5	58
Garbage collection, street cleaning	White	2.73	28	35	20	17	476
	Negro	2.32	18	27	23	32	60
Negro-white relations	White	2.50	7	49	31	13	499
	Negro	2.67	8	61	21	10	61
Handling of housing needs	White	2.52	15	38	32	15	461
	Negro	1.97	5	23	37	35	62
Bus and streetcar system; DSR	White	2.33	11	37	26	26	499
	Negro	2.33	16	30	25	29	61

*Average obtained by calling "Definitely Bad" = 1, "Not Good" = 2, "Fairly Good" = 3, "Very Good" = 4.

**Less than ½%.

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 27A

Ratings of Fourteen Detroit Activities by People at Different Socio-Economic Levels

		Per cent giving each rating:					Number of Persons Rating
	<i>Social Status</i>	<i>Average Rating*</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Fairly Good</i>	<i>Not Good</i>	<i>Defi- nitely Bad</i>	
Wayne University	High	3.61	67%	28%	5%	—	93
	Middle	3.62	66	31	3	**	250
	Low	3.66	66	34	—	—	56
Detroit newspapers	High	3.53	57	39	4	—	103
	Middle	3.47	53	42	3	2	356
	Low	3.51	58	38	1	3	95
Activities of indus- trial companies	High	3.50	50	50	—	—	103
	Middle	3.41	46	49	4	1	332
	Low	3.37	46	47	5	2	91
Public schools	High	3.40	48	44	8	—	100
	Middle	3.33	44	47	6	3	329
	Low	3.41	51	41	7	1	87
Spare-time activities	High	3.15	38	41	19	2	100
	Middle	3.35	48	41	9	2	355
	Low	3.35	45	45	9	1	101
Police Department	High	3.46	54	39	5	2	105
	Middle	3.31	48	40	6	6	354
	Low	3.16	42	42	7	9	98
Detroit city government	High	3.07	26	59	11	4	101
	Middle	3.02	25	58	11	6	343
	Low	3.13	33	53	8	6	86
Activities of labor unions	High	2.50	7	48	32	13	96
	Middle	2.98	26	50	19	5	328
	Low	3.27	41	47	10	2	95
Automobile traffic and parking	High	2.56	22	38	13	27	98
	Middle	2.78	24	42	21	13	351
	Low	2.99	38	39	8	15	93
Labor-management relations	High	2.48	10	40	39	11	99
	Middle	2.69	9	60	23	8	344
	Low	2.85	14	62	21	3	89
Garbage collection, street cleaning	High	2.71	25	38	19	18	95
	Middle	2.70	26	36	19	19	343
	Low	2.58	29	24	25	22	98
Negro-white relations	High	2.66	9	54	32	5	104
	Middle	2.50	6	52	29	13	355
	Low	2.45	10	42	30	18	101
Handling of housing needs	High	2.57	16	39	31	14	98
	Middle	2.52	14	40	31	15	330
	Low	2.11	8	22	41	29	95
Bus and streetcar system; DSR	High	2.33	15	34	21	30	102
	Middle	2.27	8	37	28	27	356
	Low	2.55	22	32	26	20	102

* Average obtained by calling "Definitely Bad" = 1, "Not Good" = 2, "Fairly Good" = 3, "Very Good" = 4.

** Less than ½ %.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES ON ATTITUDES OF DETROITERS

Table 28A

Comparison by Sex of the Matters People Think "It is Most Important to do Something about in Detroit"

	<i>Percentage of Men and Women Who Name Each Item</i>			
	<i>Among the Three Most Important</i>		<i>As First Choice</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Housing needs	45.4%	55.4%	19.6%	26.8%
Negro-white relations	42.4	49.8	20.0	20.5
Bus and streetcar system; DSR	36.8	28.1	11.3	8.1
Garbage Collection and street cleaning	30.1	28.7	6.4	7.0
Detroit city government	30.1	25.4	6.8	8.7
Automobile traffic and parking	33.1	22.1	8.7	6.4
Spare-time activities	18.6	22.1	3.4	4.4
Labor-management relations	20.8	18.8	8.7	7.7
Public schools	19.0	19.8	8.7	6.4
Activities of labor unions	6.7	7.9	3.0	2.3
Police Department	5.2	6.6	1.1	1.0
Activities of industrial companies	3.3	3.0	.8	.3
Detroit newspapers	2.2	1.7	.8	.3
Wayne University	2.2	1.3	.8	—

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 29A

Comparison by Race of the Matters People Think "It is Most Important to do Something about in Detroit"

	<i>Percentage of Whites and Negroes Who Name Each Item</i>			
	<i>Among the Three Most Important</i>		<i>As First Choice</i>	
	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Negro</i>
Housing needs	49.3%	62.3%	22.5%	31.6%
Negro-white relations	47.0	41.0	19.6	26.3
Bus and streetcar system; DSR	33.7	19.7	10.1	5.3
Garbage collection, street cleaning	28.8	34.4	6.7	7.0
Detroit city government	27.6	27.9	7.7	8.8
Automobile traffic and parking	29.4	9.8	8.1	1.8
Spare-time activities	20.9	16.4	4.2	1.8
Labor-management relations	21.1	8.2	8.7	3.5
Public schools	19.2	21.3	8.1	1.7
Activities of labor unions	8.0	1.6	3.0	—
Police Department	4.1	21.3	.2	8.8
Activities of industrial companies	2.7	6.6	.4	1.7
Detroit newspapers	1.8	3.3	.4	1.7
Wayne University	2.0	—	.4	—

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES ON ATTITUDES OF DETROITERS

Table 30A

Comparison by Socio-Economic Levels of the Matters People Think
"It is Most Important to do Something about in Detroit"

	<i>Percentage of People at Each Socio-Economic Level Who Name Each Item</i>					
	<i>Among the Three Most Important</i>			<i>As First Choice</i>		
	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Middle</i>	<i>Low</i>
Housing needs	46.2%	49.0%	61.6%	22.1%	21.5%	32.0%
Negro-white relations	38.7	45.8	56.6	13.5	20.2	27.8
Bus and streetcar system; DSR	38.7	34.3	17.2	9.6	11.3	3.1
Garbage collection, street cleaning	20.8	30.0	36.4	5.8	6.6	8.2
Detroit city government	21.7	28.9	29.3	5.8	8.3	8.2
Automobile traffic and parking	35.8	28.6	13.1	9.6	8.0	3.1
Spare-time activities	17.9	21.3	20.2	1.0	4.7	4.1
Labor-management relations	28.3	18.3	16.2	12.5	8.0	4.1
Public schools	23.6	18.0	20.2	12.5	6.6	5.2
Activities of labor unions	13.2	6.5	4.0	7.7	1.9	—
Police Department	3.8	5.4	10.1	—	1.4	1.0
Activities of indus- trial companies	2.8	2.5	6.1	—	—	3.1
Detroit newspapers	1.9	2.7	—	—	.8	—
Wayne University	3.8	1.6	—	—	.6	—

DETROIT AS THE PEOPLE SEE IT

Table 31A

Job Satisfaction in Relation to Education for Different Occupational Groups

	<i>Percentages rating themselves "very satisfied"</i>			
	<i>8th grade or less</i>	<i>9th to 11th grade</i>	<i>High school graduate</i>	<i>Some college or college graduate</i>
Managers, owners; pro- fessional and semi- professional; upper white collar	72%*(18)**		75%(32)	61%(51)
Lower white collar	46%*(13)		56%*(23)	
Skilled (manufacturing and other)	61%(28)	45%(11)	59%*(22)	
Semi- and unskilled manufacturing	62%(39)	60%(20)	53%*(17)	
Semi- and unskilled, other	52%(23)	64%(11)	80%*(10)	
Total	62%(104)	53%(59)	65%(85)	61%(70)

*Two educational groups were combined since the numbers in one category alone were too small (less than 10).

**Figures in parentheses show the number of persons of the specified occupational group who have the indicated amount of schooling. Each such figure is the base on which the percentage which it accompanies was computed. Thus the "72%" means that thirteen of the eighteen persons there represented said that they are "Very satisfied" with their jobs—on a four-point scale running from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied" (Question 16).

Table 32A

Job Likes and Dislikes as Related to Occupation of Respondents

Percentage in Each Occupation Who Mention The Different Likes and Dislikes*

	Manager, owner	Professional, semi-pro.	Upper white collar	Lower white collar	Skilled, m.f.g.	Skilled, other	Semi- unskilled, m.f.g.	Semi- unskilled, other	Total**
Things liked:									
Kind of work	50%	55%	54%	39%	68%	38%	51%	27%	48%
People worked with	47	31	46	50	20	24	22	23	31
Pay	21	10	13	22	29	24	30	25	24
Freedom and responsibility	24	14	20	14	10	33	9	16	15
Working conditions	—	17	13	19	15	10	17	14	15
Management, bosses	3	3	20	22	7	5	14	20	13
Hours	3	10	8	3	5	—	10	7	6
Chances for advancement	3	17	5	6	5	19	—	2	5
Other	3	—	5	3	5	10	12	14	7
Things disliked:									
Kind of work	15	3	15	11	7	19	14	18	13
Working conditions	6	21	3	6	15	14	22	11	13
Hours	12	7	3	14	5	14	4	11	8
Pay	—	3	8	11	7	10	7	11	7
People worked with	3	3	3	8	7	14	5	4	6
Irregularity of work	3	—	—	3	7	—	4	4	3
Management, bosses	—	10	—	3	2	5	4	—	3
No chance for advancement	3	3	—	3	2	—	1	—	2
Other	15	21	5	—	2	—	5	2	6
Number of people	34	29	39	36	41	21	76	44	324

* A maximum of two things liked and two things disliked were coded for each respondent; hence the percentages may total more than 100 per cent.

** Includes four persons whose occupations were not classifiable.

Table 33A

Percentages Classified as Favorable or Unfavorable toward Detroit
by Occupation of Respondent*

	Manager, owner	Professional, semi-pro.	Upper white collar	Lower white collar	Skilled, m'f'g	Skilled, other	Semi- unskilled, m'f'g	Semi- unskilled, other
Strongly favorable	40%	16%	28%	32%	27%	18%	25%	16%
Favorable	21	32	25	26	23	37	32	33
Not consistently favorable	21	29	17	21	20	18	23	18
Somewhat unfavorable	18	23	30	21	30	27	20	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of people	39	31	40	38	44	22	85	49

*The favorable-unfavorable classification is explained on pages 8-10 and 198.

Table 34A

Percentages of Housewives Classified as Favorable or Unfavorable toward Detroit
by Occupation of Husbands*

	Manager, owner	Professional, semi-pro.	Upper white collar	Lower white collar	Skilled, m'f'g	Skilled, other	Semi- unskilled, m'f'g	Semi- unskilled, other
Strongly favorable	11%	11%	29%	8%	21%	20%	25%	20%
Favorable	28	17	21	23	33	20	26	40
Not consistently favorable	39	28	12	15	29	47	29	15
Somewhat unfavorable	22	44	38	54	17	13	20	25
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of people	18	18	24	13	24	15	51	20

*See footnote to Table 33A.

Table 35A

Percentages of Respondents Classified as Unfavorable toward Detroit
by Occupation of Head of Family*

	Manager, owner	Professional, semi-pro.	Upper white collar	Lower white collar	Skilled, mfg.	Skilled, other	Semi- unskilled, mfg.	Semi- unskilled, other
Strongly favorable	29%	16%	30%	26%	24%	19%	25%	18%
Favorable	25	24	24	24	27	27	29	35
Not consistently favorable	25	31	16	16	24	27	27	14
Somewhat unfavorable	21	29	30	34	25	27	19	33
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of people	59	45	63	38	76	44	145	63

*Where respondent is not the head of the family, occupation of the family member who is the head is used. Also see footnote to Table 33A.

